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VOL. II

PART II

BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

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BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED BY

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REVISED BY

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and

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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

Vol. II, Part II

BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHĀRHUT

BHĀRHUT INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED BY THE

LATE HEINRICH LÜDERS

REVISED AND SUPPLEMENTED BY

ERNST WALDSCHMIDT, GÖTTINGEN

IN COLLABORATION WITH

MADHUKAR ANANT MEHENDALE, POONA

PREFACE

AS can be seen from the preface to Prof. Sten Konow's edition of the Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions[1], more than thirty years ago arrangements were concluded for the preparation of a volume of early Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions in *CII*. The joint editorship of this volume was entrusted to Professors Lüders (Brāhmī inscriptions) and Rapson (Kharoshṭhī inscriptions). In 1922, however, Prof. Rapson relinquished his post on account of other engagements, and Prof. Konow took over the charge and succeeded in bringing out the volume referred to above on Kharoshṭhī inscriptions in about six years.

The task of Prof. Lüders was more comprehensive, as the number of early Brāhmī inscriptions was comparatively greater than the number of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Moreover Prof. Lüders could not devote his whole time to this work as he was preoccupied with many other problems of Indology, though for the last twenty years of his life he tried his best to fulfil the responsibility he undertook. Shortly before his lamented death on 7th May 1943, when he was already seriously ill, he requested Prof. E. Waldschmidt to continue his work on Brāhmī inscriptions and bring his unfinished task to an end. After the death of Prof. Lüders, Mrs. Lüders handed over the unfinished manuscript of the work on Brāhmī inscriptions and other similar manuscripts on different subjects to Prof. Waldschmidt. As Prof. Waldschmidt was then in the military service, all this manuscript-material was put into trunks and kept securely in a safe in the Berlin Academy, of which Prof. Lüders was a prominent member and head of the Oriental Commission. Later, these trunks, together with other precious material in the Berlin Academy, were brought for security purposes into a mine at Bernburg. After the war, in the summer of 1945[2] the trunks were plundered and their contents scattered, with the result that some of this valuable material was lost in the confusion. What remained was collected by an official of the Berlin Academy and was again entrusted to the charge of Prof. Waldschmidt.

After putting this material into proper order and on inspecting it, Prof. Waldschmidt noticed that in the material before him there was nearly nothing from the second group of Brāhmī inscriptions which is styled as " Southern Inscriptions " in Prof. Lüders' List and which begins with the number 962. Evidently Prof. Lüders intended to publish the Northern and Southern Brāhmī Inscriptions separately in two volumes, and it was obvious that he first worked only on the northern inscriptions. Even the manuscript of Prof. Lüders on Northern inscriptions was not complete when it came to the hands of Prof. Waldschmidt, and there were many lacunae which needed to be filled in. It is difficult to decide whether these lacunae were already there as Prof. Lüders had not worked out these parts or whether they were results of the plundering and mishandling of the trunks. It seems, however, certain that Prof. Lüders had not written the introduction to his intended volume treating the questions relating to the different eras and other points of general interest. Similarly the treatment on language of the different groups of inscriptions as also the various indices were missing in the manuscript. The bulk of the manuscript as it then existed dealt with the Mathurā and Bhārhut inscriptions besides some other smaller groups and separate inscriptions of major importance. Hence Prof. Waldschmidt proposed in 1947 to the then Director General of Archaeology to publish the material in different fascicles, beginning with the Bhārhut

[1] *CII*, Vol. 2, Part I, Calcutta 1929.

[2] Shortly before the end of the war Mrs. Lüders had suddenly died on 13th of March 1945.

inscriptions as this was the most complete group in the manuscript of Prof. Lüders. The present work was undertaken after Prof. Waldschmidt's proposal was accepted in a letter No. 21 A/12/49-4886 dated 11th April 1949 of the Superintendent of Publications, Department of Archaeology, Government of India, New Delhi.

The year 1941 saw the publication of Prof. Lüders' book on "*Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*" (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVI, 3, Leipzig 1941), and in this book the author discussed many of the Bhārhut inscriptions. On comparing the treatment of certain inscriptions as contained in the unpublished manuscript intended for the *CII*, and in the published work on Bhārhut, it was found, that in some respects the latter showed an advance over the former. The published work contained in certain cases a more detailed discussion, besides a treatment of some general topics like the relation of Bhārhut sculptures to the Pāli texts, and a criticism of B. M. Barua's work on Bhārhut. Hence it seemed necessary to include this material in the present work at proper places, all the more so because copies of Lüders' book on Bhārhut are no more available.

The recovered material of Prof. Lüders as far as Bhārhut is concerned comprised the treatment of most of the individual inscriptions. It has been supplemented with an introduction headed by Lüders' criticism of Barua's *Barhut*, and continued by a treatment of general topics, like a discussion of the language, of the age of the inscriptions, and of the nature of the personal and place names. The index of the words has as well been added. In completing the manuscript of individual inscriptions, the originality of Lüders' text has been retained as far as possible. Minor changes and additions were often necessary, but have not been indicated at all places. Similarly the supplementing of the text made with the help of the published work of Lüders on Bhārhut has not been distinguished as such. The inscriptions, however, on which any treatment whatsoever was missing in the manuscript have been so indicated in the foot notes.

In the present text it was thought advisable to divide the inscriptions into two main groups: A: donative inscriptions, and B: inscriptions describing the sculptural representations, and so to arrange them anew. Consequently it was not possible to maintain the sequence of the numbers found in the List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, but these numbers from the List have been mentioned in brackets by the side of new numbers, and in addition a concordance of the old and new numbers has been attached.

In the year 1952, Dr. M. A. Mehendale of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona (India), arrived at Göttingen and joined Prof. Waldschmidt in his work on Bhārhut inscriptions.

E. WALDSCHMIDT
M. A. MEHENDALE

GÖTTINGEN:
August 1954

Postscript 1958: When our manuscript was completed in 1954 we had not heard of the removal of as many as fifty-four pieces of the railing of the Stūpa of Bhārhut, discovered at Pataora and other villages near the modern village of Bhārhut, to the Allahabad Municipal Museum. These sculptures have been treated by Dr. Satish Chandra Kala, Curator, Municipal Museum Allahabad, in his book on 'Bharhut Vedikā', Allahabad 1951. Some six or seven pieces are provided with inscriptions, read by Dr. Kala. One inscription *haṁsajātakaṁ* (below B 41) was already known to the public from Cunningham's drawing. The new inscriptions have been re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57-60. They have been included in our volume at proper places.

CONTENTS[1]

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

PART A

[1] Hultzsch states in his German paper on Bhārhut inscriptions (ZDMG. Vol. XL, 1886), p. 59, that 38 of the inscriptions, the eye-copies of which had been published by General Cunningham in *StBh.*, have not been removed to Calcutta. For that reason estampages of them could not be made by him in 1885, when he prepared his article. The same conditions are prevalent till now. Some 40-50 inscriptions, part of them fragmentary, have to be taken as lost or supposed to remain somewhere " in situ ". For them the readings can rely only upon the unauthentic eye-copies published in *StBh.*, and reproduced from them in the plates below. All the cases in which the eye-copies alone are available have been noted as such. – Cf., however, postscript 1958 to preface, above p. VI.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

PART B

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS
1962

(A) ADDITIONS

1. Since the writing of our " Postscript 1958 " (p. VI), mentioning the removal of fiftyfour pieces of the railing of the Stūpa of Bhārhut to the Allahabad Municipal Museum, some more information regarding the whereabouts of the Bhārhut sculptures and inscriptions has come to our notice.

Two reliefs, one of them with the inscription No. A 112 which, according to Cunningham ((**StBh.**, Pl. LVI, 65) came " from Uchahara ", and another with a representation of the Bodhi Tree (**StBh.**, Pl. XXXI, 3), are now in the Freer Gallery, U.S.A., see A. K. Coomaraswamy, **The Two Reliefs from Bharhut in the Freer Gallery,** Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. VI (1938), pp. 149-162. The sculptures are also reproduced in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, **La Sculpture de Bharhut,** traduction de Jean Buhot, Paris 1956, Plate XXV. This book does not contribute much regarding the inscriptions; however, it presents Bhārhut sculptures in fifty-one plates in a quality superior to ours. As the book is easily available, it will be useful to state where our inscriptions are to be found in the illustrations of the book and vice versa:

Our No.		Coomarasw.	
A	8:	Fig.	108
	12:	,,	68
	14:	,,	109
	16:	,,	58
	22:	,,	108
	25:	,,	122
	29:	,,	56
	31:	,,	77
	32:	,,	72
	33:	,,	69
	34:	,,	15
	38:	,,	59
	39:	,,	46
	40:	,,	60
	51:	,,	109
	58:	,,	20
	59:	,,	30
	61:	,,	49
	62:	,,	25, 29
	65:	,,	43
	71:	,,	48
	73:	,,	94
	80:	,,	42
	94:	,,	45
	95:	,,	17
	96:	,,	95
	98:	,,	73
	100:	,,	87
	112:	,,	66
	119:	,,	75
	123:	,,	40
	124:	,,	47

Our No.		Coomarasw.	
B	1:	Fig.	20
	2:	,,	21
	3:	,,	22
	4:	,,	18
	5:	,,	19
	6:	,,	17
	7:	,,	41
	8:	,,	44
	9:	,,	42
	10:	,,	46
	12:	,,	37
	13:	,,	56
	14:	,,	59
	15:	,,	58
	16:	,,	57
	17:	,,	60
	18:	,,	30
	19:	,,	61
	20:	,,	38
	21:	,,	30, 32
	22:	,,	32
	23-31:	,,	23
	23-25:	,,	27
	24-26:	,,	26
	32-34:	,,	67
	35:	,,	63
	36-39:	,,	25
	36-37:	,,	29
	38-39:	,,	28
	40:	,,	30, 33

Our No.		Coomarasw.	
B	42:	Fig.	143
	43:	,,	79
	44:	,,	75
	45:	,,	237
	46:	,,	231
	47:	,,	73
	48:	,,	151
	49:	,,	72
	50:	,,	141
	51:	,,	69
	52:	,,	80
	54:	,,	241
	55:	,,	35
	56:	,,	200
	57.	,,	170
	58:	,,	176
	59:	,,	83
	61:	,,	24
	63:	,,	172
	64:	,,	147
	66:	,,	36, 108
	67:	,,	223
	68:	,,	153
	69:	,,	174
	71:	,,	25
	73:	,,	178
	74:	,,	180
	77:	,,	145
	78:	,,	71
	82:	,,	90

Coomarasw.		Our No.
Fig.	15:	A 34
,,	17:	A 95, B 6
,,	18:	B 4
,,	19:	B 5
,,	20:	A 58, B 1
,,	21:	B 2
,,	22:	B 3
,,	23:	B 23-31
,,	24:	B 61
,,	25:	B 36-39, B 71, A 62

Coomarasw.		Our No.
Fig.	26:	B 24-26
,,	27:	B 23-25
,,	28:	B 38-39
,,	29:	B 36-37, A 62
,,	30:	B 18, B 21, B 40, A 59
,,	32:	B 21-22
,,	33:	B 40
,,	35:	B 55
,,	36:	B 66
,,	37:	B 12

Coomarasw.		Our No.
Fig.	38:	B 20
,,	40:	A 123
,,	41:	B 7
,,	42:	A 80, B 9
,,	43:	A 65
,,	44:	B 8
,,	45:	A 94
,,	46:	A 39, B 10
,,	47:	A 124
,,	48:	A 71

Coomarasw.	Our No.	Coomarasw.	Our No.	Coomarasw.	Our No.
Fig. 49:	A 61	Fig. 77:	A 31	Fig, 145:	B 77
,, 56:	A 29, B 13	,, 79:	B 43	,, 147:	B 64
,, 57:	B 16	,, 80:	B 52	,, 151:	B 48
,, 58:	A 16, B 15	,, 83:	B 59	,, 153:	B 68
,, 59:	A 38, B 14	,, 87:	A 100	,, 170:	B 57
,, 60:	A 40 B 17	,, 90:	B 82	,, 172:	B 63
,, 61:	B 19	,, 94:	A 73	,, 174:	B 69
,, 63:	B 35	,, 95:	A 96	, 176:	B 58
,, 66:	A 112	,, 105:	cf. Fig. 73	,, 178:	B 73
,, 67:	B 32-34	,, 107:	cf. Fig. 68	,, 180:	B 74
,, 68:	A 12	., 107 bis:	cf. Fig. 61	,, 200:	B 56
,, 69:	A 33, B 51	,, 108:	B 66, A 8, A 22	,, 223:	B 67
,, 71:	B 78	,, 109:	A 51, A 14	,, 231:	B 46
,, 72:	A 32, B 49	,, 122:	A 25	,, 237:	B 45
,, 73:	A 98, B 47	,, 141:	B 50	,, 241:	B 54
,, 75:	B 44, A 119	,, 143:	B 42		

2. Recent acquisitions of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras[1], include some sculptures from Bhārhut having inscriptions which hitherto were known only from the eye-copies published by General Cunningham in **StBh.** as "from Uchahara" (these have been reproduced in this volume). At the request of Dr. G. S. Gai, Ph.D., Governm. Epigraphist for India Ootacamund, Shri Rai Krishnadasa, Hony. Director of Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, recently sent us estampages of five inscriptions (A 36, A 47, A 48, A 104 and B 62) for being included in the Corpus. See additional Plate No. XLVIII. We have to thank both the gentlemen for their kind help. Dr. Gai also contacted Professor K. D. Bajpai of Sagar University, Madhya Pradesh, who some time ago paid a visit to Bhārhut and inspected the archaeological collection of the Ramvan Museum (near Satna, some miles distant from Bhārhut). He found there about two dozen sculptures from Bhārhut, some with fragmentary inscriptions which he read as follows:

1. **Utama............** 2. **..........tasa dānaṁ** 3. **............thabho dānaṁ**

Professor Bajpai states in a paper on '**New Bharhut Sculptures**', to be published shortly, that he came across three Bhārhut railing pillars "in the locality" (Ramvan or Satna?). One (No. 3 in this paper) is a fragmentary pillar with an inscription. It is our No. A 7. Another pillar (No. 2 in the paper) has the inscription No. A 26. Both inscriptions were known through Cunningham's eye-copies as on "pillars in Batanmāra". Prof. Bajpai has been kind enough to send us impressions of A 7 and A 26, and a copy of the manuscript of his paper. For this generosity we are very grateful to him. Prof. Bajpai's description of the third pillar, "representing the complete figure of a standing Yakshi", applies exactly to the Yakshī on a "pillar at Batanmāra" reproduced in Cunningham's **StBh.**, Pl. XXI, and in Coomaraswamy's book on Bhārhut, l.c. Fig. 47. Prof. Bajpai found an inscription on the pillar "which can be read as **Soriya thabho dānaṁ**". But if the two Yakshīs are identical, the reading should be a little different, see below, postscript on A 124. Cunningham, **StBh.**, Pl. LV, gives seven inscriptions as found on "pillars at Batanmāra". His Nos. 90-96 correspond to our Nos. A 124, A 54, B 35, A 43, B 59, A 26 and A 7. Of these, B 35 and B 59 are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; A 7, A 26, and probably A 124 are on the pillars discovered by Prof. Bajpai. It therefore remains for the future to find out the whereabouts of only A 43 and A 54. **thabho dānaṁ**, read by Prof. Bajpai on a sculpture, possibly constitutes the end of the inscription A 54. Luckily the whereabouts of the inscriptions "from Uchahara" (Cunningham, **StBh.**, Pl. LVI, 61-67), which correspond to our Nos. A 47, A 36, A 48, A 104, A 112, B 62, and A 4, are today perfectly clear; A 4 is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, A 112 in the Freer Gallery, U.S.A., and the rest in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in Banaras[2].

We now add special postscripts to the inscriptions mentioned above.

A 7 (809); Plate XLVIII

On a fragmentary railing pillar No. 3 recovered by Prof. K.D. Bajpai, who reads the inscription as **Karahakaṭasa Utara gadhikasa thabo dānaṁ** and explains **Utara** (**Uttara**) as "personal name of the donor, who was a dealer in perfumes" (**gandhika**). The impression of the inscription now available seems indeed to give **ga** instead of **gi**[3], whereas **i** is clearly to be read in Cunningham's eye-copy on which every one had to rely until now. No wonder that, in Prof. Bajpai's words, "the second word has been read by all scholars as '**utaragidhikasa**'". The present editors regarded **Utara-gidhika** (**Uttara-gṛdhyaka**?) as a name derived from the constellation **Uttara** like **Uttara-dāsaka**, **Uttara-datta**, **Uttara-mittā** and similar names mentioned by Hilka. Even if **-gadhika** is the correct reading, it should be interpreted in the same way, i.e. as the personal name **Utara-gadhika** (**Uttara-gandhika**). It would be necessary to have **Utarasa** to enable us to separate **Utara** from **gadhikasa**, cf. A 55 etc. The **sa** of **Karahakaṭasa** in the reading of Prof. Bajpai is missing in the impression and has been added in mistake.

1 Cf. Indian Archaeology, A review, ed. by A. Ghosh, 1959-60, p. 82, and *ibid.* 1960-61, New Delhi 1961, p. 74, Plate LXXXVII.

2 The bulk of the Bhārhut sculptures is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

A good number is nowadays also kept in (1) the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Allahabad, (2) the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, and (3) the Ramvan Museum, District Satna; a few pieces are kept in (4) the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, as well as (5) the Freer Gallery, U.S.A. A number of sculptures is apparently still in the possession of private people in places not far from the present village of Bhārhut.

3 This is not absolutely certain as traces of an **i**-hook seem to come out if the rubbing is held against light. The letters on the whole are not very clear in this impression.

A 26 (808); Plate XLVIII

On a fragmentary railing pillar No. 2 recovered by Prof. K. D. Bajpai. The reading taken from Cunningham's eye-copy is confirmed by the impression. It may be possible to read **Jātāmitasa,** but the **ā**-stroke of **tā** is rather underdeveloped. To read **Jātamitase** (as Prof. Bajpai does) is unwarranted and against grammar.

A 36 (877); Plate XLVIII

Cunningham's eye-copy of this inscription is described as coming "from Uchahara". The sculpture is now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. The impression now available confirms our reading. Only the anusvāra of **dānaṁ** does not come out clearly in the impression (**dānam** on p. 27 is a misprint for **dānaṁ**).

A 47 (876); Plate XLVIII

The reading from Cunningham's eye-copy, described as "from Uchahara" and now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, is confirmed by the impression.

A 48 (878); Plate XLVIII

The remark on A 47 applies also to A 48; we should, however, read **yā** instead of **ya** in **[Pa]rakaṭ[i]kaya.**

A 104 (879); Plate XLVIII

The remark on A 47 applies to A 104 too.

A 124 (803)

The inscription is not a fragmentary one as explained by Lüders; there is also no possibility of combining it with A 43 or with any other inscription as suggested by Barua-Sinha and rejected by Lüders. The inscription is clearly legible as

Sakaya thabhā dānaṁ

in the photograph published by Coomaraswamy, l.c. Fig. 47, and can be made out also in the photograph in **StBh.,** Pl. XXI, " Pillar at Batanmāra ", near the left hip of the Yakshī. If this Yakshī is the same as the one discovered by Prof. Bajpai, his reading should not be **Soriya thabo dānaṁ** but **Sakaya** as given above. It is likely that the inscription is somewhat mutilated at present, but the old photographs are quite clear. We have to translate: The pillars (are) the gift of Sakā (**Śakrā**)[4].

B 62 (881); Plate XLVIII

The reading is:

timitimiṁgilalakuchhimh[ā] Vasu[g]ut[o] m[o]cito Mahādevenaṁ

Cf. note 1 on p. 155.

(B) CORRECTIONS

Page XI, f. n. 1, line 1—**kṛitvā** *instead of* **kritvā**
,, XIII, line 4—l *instead of* -l
,, XV, lines 11-10 from below, *read*—' for **Gāgīputa-** and **Vāchhiputa-** in A 1 cf. §6(I) and p. XXI, f. n. 1 ', *instead of* ' cf. also **Gāgīputa-** and **Vāchhiputa-** in A I '.
,, XX, line 19—**bhikshuṇī** *instead of* **bhikshuṇi**
,, XXI, line 19—**ṭṭh** *instead of* **ṭṭh²**
line 22—(i.e. **tt²**) *instead of* (i.e. **tt**)
,, XXV line 12— -(**ă**)**to** *instead of* **-ato**
,, XXVI, line 8— -(**ă**)**ye** *instead of* -(**ā**)**ye**
,, XXX, f. n. 1, line 2—' with the exception ' *instead of* ' with exception '
,, XXXI, line 16—' were later on ' *instead of* ' became later on '
,, XXXIII, line 12—' doubtless ' *instead of* ' doubtlessly '
,, XXXVII, line 3—(**ushṇīsha**) *instead of* (**uṣṇīsa**)
f. n., line 3— ' in Lüders " *instead of* ' on Lüders' "
,, 6, line 2 from below—' (five times) ' *instead of* ' (five time) '
,, 7, line 21—**Mahā-mora-giri** *instead of* **Māhā-mora-giri**
line 14 from below— **-vaḍhana** *instead of* **-vadhana**
line 12 from below—**Puña-vaḍhana** *instead of* **Puña-vadhana**
,, 7, line 7 from below— **-vaḍa** or **-viḍa** *instead of* **-vada** or **-vida**
,, 10, f. n. 12, line 1—' derivative ' *instead of* ' derivation '
,, 11, line 4—' Eastern gateway ' *instead of* ' eastern gateway '
line 8—' Chanda ' *instead of* ' Chandra '
f. n. 2, line 2—' the more so ' instead of ' the more '
f. n. 4, line 2— ' as usual ' *instead of* ' as usually '
,, 12, f. n. 5—**tsī** *instead of* **tsā**
,, 21, line 7— **Setaka** *instead of* **Śetaka**
,, 23, line 8—' Ramaprasad ' *instead of* ' Ramprasad '
,, 24, f. n. 1, *add*—Possibly we can take **Jātamitra** as ' one to whom a friend has been born '. This name would be in a way parallel to **Ajātaśatru**
f. n. 7, *add*—If the name **Ghāṭila** is derived from **Ghaṭa,** and not **Ghaṭa,** then it may refer to the sign Aquarius.

4 Or " the **Śākyā** "?

Page 27, line 10, ' only once ', *add* f. n.—twice in the case of Chikulana (A 39, A 40) and Nagara (A 43, A 44).
line 14—' dānaṁ ' *instead* of ' dānam '
,, 31, f. n. 4, *add*—Or Vasu may refer to the name of the gods.
,, 32, line 2—(**Śrīmatī**) *instead of* (**Srīmatī**).
f. n. 5, *add*— For Tisā see classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from stars).
,, 35, f. n. 2, *add*—For Nagarakhita, p. 5 in mistake included under female names, see classification I, 4, a, II (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
,, 37, line 8 from below, p. 47, line 1 from below—' reeurs ' *instead of* ' reoccurs '
,, 48, f. n. 3, *add*—**Isirakhita** occurs perhaps also in A87a.
,, 57, f. n. 6, *add*—Or **Koḍā** may stand for ***Koḍḍā** < **Koḍyā** (cf. p. 169, lines 6-7).
,, 59, line 17—(875)6 *instead of* (875)5
,, 70, line 9 from below—' was translated ' *instead of* ' is translated '
f. n. 5—'by the side of ' *instead of* ' at the side of '.
,, 71, f. n. 6, *read*—' enumeration ' *instead of* ' juxtaposition '.
,, 72, line 1—JĀTAKAS *instead of* JATAKAS
,, 73, f. n. 1, line 5—' whose sovereign is Kuvera ' *instead of* ' whose sovereign Kuvera is '
,, 75, line 14—" Ajakalāpaka is 'some one " *instead of* " Ajakalāpaka ' some one "
line 1 from below—' figures ' instead of ' figure '
,, 79, f. n., line 2—' unbelievable ' *instead of* ' Ṭunbelievable '
,, 80, line 2 from below—' Kokā ' *instead of* ' Koka '
,, 87, line 7 from below—' Bodhisattva ' *instead of* ' Boddhisattva '
,, 89, line 10—' Holy One ' *instead of* ' Holy one '
,, 93, line 13—' beating ' *instead of* ' bearing '
line 8 from below—' The hall of gods ' *instead of* ' The hall of the gods '
,, 94, line 22—' the hall of gods ' *instead of* ' the hall of the gods '
,, 98, line 10 from below—' p. 53ff. ' *instead* of ' 53ff. '
,, 101, line 1—' on the seven-stringed vīṇā ' *instead of* ' on the the seven-stringed vīṇā '
,, 108, line 3 from below—' Holy One ' *instead of* ' Holy one '
,, 109, line 25—' away on both sides ' *instead of* ' away both sides '
,, 112, line 7 from below—' **erakā** was substituted ' *instead of* ' so **eraka** was substituted '
,, 113, line 2—' he was reborn ' *instead of* ' he is reborn '
line 8 from below—' under No. B 23 ' *instead of* ' No. B 23 '
,, 115, line 9 from below—' restrained ' *instead of* ' restricted '
,, 117, f. n. 2, line 17—' a place for walking ' *instead of* ' a place of walking '
,, 119, line 2—' female-attendant ' *instead of* ' female-mahout '
,, 122, line 12—' at present kept in ' *instead of* ' at present in '
line 15—' Jātaka ' *instead of* ' jātaka '
line 1 from below—' infested ' *instead of* ' infected '
,, 124, line 26—' mocking by ' *instead of* ' mocking of '
,, 127, line 26—' can only be ' *instead of* ' can be only'
,, 135, line 1 from below —' there ' *instead of* ' three '
,, 140, line 5—**ayam** *instead of* **ayaṁ**
,, 141, line 9—**veḷugumbasmiṁ;** line 6 from below—' slaughter ' *instead of* ' salughter '
line 1 from below—' interference ' *instead of* ' intreference '
f. n. 2—**avekkhipanti** *instead of* **avekkhipanī**
,, 145, line 22—' an example of ' *instead of* ' an example for '
line 3 from below—' whether it is ' *instead of* ' may it be '
,, 146, line 4—' Northern gate ' *instead of* ' northern gate '
,, 148, f. n. 1, line 2— ' Kakusandha; see ' *instead of* ' Kakusandha (see '
,, 150, line 16—' on the Himavat ' *instead of* ' in the Himavat '
,, 153, line 5—**jātyandhaḥ** *instead of* **jātyandhah.**
,, 159, line 2 from below— ' refused ' *instead of* ' rejected '
,, 168, line 1 from below—' is **ārāmika** ' *instead of* ' **isārāmika** '
,, 173, line 10—' As known ' instead of ' As we know '
,, 175, line 22, line 24—' Evil One ' and ' Holy One ' *instead of* ' Evil one ' and ' Holy one '
,, 180, line 26—' a role also ' *instead of* ' also a role '
,, 183, 184, *read*—**Hem. Abh.** before **Hem. An.**
,, 184, *read*—**JPASB.** before **JPTS.**
,, 186, line 9—' thabho ' *instead of* ' thabo '
,, 188, line 8—' A 46 ' *instead of* ' 46 A '
,, 191, line 12—' Anādhapeṁḍika- ' *instead of* ' Anādhapeḍḍika- '
line 5 from below—' vaya- ' *instead of* ' vada- '
,, 192, line 11—**Isirakhitā-** *instead of* **Isirakhitā-**
,, 193, line 8 from below—' (Chittuppādasilā- ' *instead of* ' (Chittoppādasilā- '
,, 197, line 11—' peṭakin- ' *instead of* ' paiṭakin- '

(C) MISPRINTS

OMISSION OF PUNCTUATION—SIGNS

Page XVIII, line 25—B 55,
,, XX, f. n. 9, line 3—a sibilant,
,, XXIX, line 7 from below—A 3.
,, 2, line 6 from below—(**Gārgīputra**),
,, 4. line 6 from below—A 75,
,, 7, line 13—**Morajābhi-kaṭa,**
line 28—(**Tākāri-pada**),
,, 22, line 15—No. 36; Barua-Sinha,
,, 55, f. n. 2, line 1—editors.
,, 73, line 10 from below—three,
line 10 from below—Chaṁdā,
,, 95, f. n. 2, line 5—p. 89
,, 96, f. n. 2, line 1—32f.,
,, 97, line 25—A 62,
,, 102, f. n. 2—I, 27
,, 110, line 25—No. 60,
,, 112, line 5 from below—(36ff.).
,, 118, f. n. 2, line 5—beyond,
,, 120, line 9—Sircar,
,, 121, lines 17, 19—coping-stone
line 5 from below—star-shaped
,, 124, line 2—Pl.
,, 125, line 6—coping-stone
,, 128, line 11—No. 74,
,, 131, line 5—p. 120f.,
,, 138, line 3 from below—speaking,
,, 149, line 2—coping-stone
,, 150, line 11—Bhisajātaka,
,, 159, line 8—p. 108f.,
,, 160, line 11—p. 97f.,
,, 165, line 24—p. 133ff.,
,, 167, line 15, line 6 from below—' of many elephants '
,, 172, line 6 from below—Cunningham,
,, 180, line 6 from below—p. 171,
,, 181, lines 7-8—' that the men are sleeping.....decorative purpose '.
,, 184—**PTSD.**; **SBE.**

INCORRECT PUNCTUATION—SIGNS

,, VII, f. n., line 1—1886, (p. 59),
,, XXVIII, line 13—**-ă**
,, 4, line 18—(**Buddharakshitā**)6 A 76
,, 7, line 13—**Morajăha(hi) -kaṭa**
,, 27, line 2 from below—(P 12)
,, 38, f. n. 1—I, 1, a
,, 130 lines 4-3 from below—accord-ing
,, 138, line 3 from below—stories the (insert, however, comma after speaking,)
,, 147, line 13—head while
,, 165, line 25—(124a);

MISSING ITALICS

,, 194, line 3— **§13**
,, 195, line 16— **§6**
line 19— **§26**
,, 197, line 7—**IV**
,, 198, line 12—**III**
line 11 from below—**I**
,, 201, line 15 from below—**to**

(D) REMARKS ON SOME REPRODUCTIONS

A 4 (882); Plate II:
In the impression on Plate II the word *dānaṁ* is obliterated.

A 54 (804); Plate XXIV:
The first akṣara of line 2 in the reproduction on Plate XXIV should read *sa*, not *pa*.

B 56 (709); Plate XXI, XLV:
The akṣaras *u*[*su*], visible in Cunningham's photography, are obliterated in the reproductions on plate **XXI.**

B 81 (902); Plate XXIII:
The akṣara *to* of (*bhaga*)*vato* is by mistake written *go* in our copy.

INTRODUCTION

I. LÜDERS' CRITICISM OF BARUA'S WORK ON BHĀRHUT

THE work published by Sir Alexander Cunningham on his excavations at Bhārhut[1] was at his time an important achievement, because the reproduction of the sculptures was done in original photographs and not in sketches as usual up to that date. Cunningham, helped by Subhūti, also began the interpretation of the sculptures, to which work in later time Andersen, Chavannes, Coomaraswamy, Foucher, Hultzsch, Minayeff, Oldenburg, Rhys Davids, Rouse, Waldschmidt, and Warren contributed with merit. The great progress which has been made in Indian Archaeology and Epigraphy and in the investigation of Buddhist literature since the publication of Cunningham's book made the re-edition of the finds urgently desirable. The first step in this direction was undertaken by Barua and Sinha in 1926, when they published a new edition of the inscriptions at Bhārhut[2]. Later on Barua endeavoured to give in a work of three volumes an exhaustive account of all questions regarding the stūpa.[3]

One has to admit thankfully that the material offered for investigation in Barua's latest work is quite large and improved. The 97 plates in part III show a row of sculptures never published before, and some reproductions are more complete or appear on a bigger scale. The technical make-up of his plates is generally very good; but in spite of this one has to refer here and there to the old photographs of Cunningham which are more clear.

The kernel of Barua's publication is the second Book which contains the description and the identification of sculptures and bears the title "Jātaka-Scenes". Vogel already opposed the designation of the sculptures as Jātaka-Scenes, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 593 ff., but Barua neglected this fully justified criticism. The number of real Jātakas up to then identified at Bhārhut was 32; according to the list given in *Barhut* I, p. 86 ff., Barua has enlarged it to double that number. But unfortunately this apparently great rise in identifications proves to be an illusion. Barua indeed has the merit to have explained convincingly a number of representations for the first time. He identified rightly, as I believe, the figures on pillars represented on Cunningham's plate XIV and XV (see B 60 and B 61)[4] with the main persons of the Kaṇḍarij. (341) and of the Samuggaj. (436)[5]. Besides, he succeeded in identifying the 'fragment' on plate XXVII with the Sammodamānaj. (33)[6], plate XXXIII, 7 with the Kapij. (250)[7], and the scene of the medallion in *Barhut* III, Pl. XCIII

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[1] *The Stūpa of Bharhut*: a Buddhist Monument ornamented with numerous sculptures illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the third century B.C., London 1879.

[2] *Barhut Inscriptions.* Edited and translated with critical notes by Benimadhab Barua and Kumar Gangananda Sinha. Published by the University of Calcutta 1926.

[3] Benimadhab Barua, *Barhut.* Book I Stone as a Story-Teller. Book II Jātaka-Scenes. Book III Aspects of Life and Art. Indian Research Institute Publications. Fine Arts Series Nos. 1-3. Calcutta 1934-1937.

[4] In the following text unless something is specifically mentioned the plate numbers refer to Cunningham's publication. When the sculptures bear inscriptions reference has been made to our number and classification in this publication, e.g. B 60. Sculptures bearing no such numbers do not have inscriptions.

[5] *Barh.* II, p. 117 f.; 132 f.

[6] *Ibid.* II, p. 91 f.

[7] *Ibid.* II, p. 109 f. In Barua's list we find instead Makkaṭaj. (173), although Barua himself had decided in favour of the Kapij. and denied the Makkaṭaj.

(141a) with the Gūthapāṇaj. (227)[1]. Not quite sure, but not improbable, is the identification of reliefs on Pl. XLI 5 with the Sūchij. (387)[2] and the reliefs in *Barhut* III, Pl. LXXI (92) with the Kaṇhaj. (29)[3]. With this, the number of identifications which are acceptable, comes to an end. The identification of the relief on Pl. XXXIV 1 with the Vaṇṇupathaj. (2)[4] is not convincing. The same has to be said of the identification of the relief on Pl. XXXII 4 with the Saṁgāmāvacharaj. (182)[5] and of the reliefs on Pl. XLVIII 4 (see B 63) with the Mūlapariyāyaj. (245)[6]. His endeavour to bring together at all cost every sculpture with some text, and as far as possible with some Jātaka, very often led Barua to completely unjustifiable and sometimes even impossible combinations.[7]

On Pl. XLVII 9 (see B 64), we have a relief in which a woman—she is according to the inscription the young wife Asāḍhā—sits on the branches of a tree in a cemetery and tells something to three jackals. I ask myself in vain what that has to do with the Asilakkhaṇaj. (126)[8], as in the Jātaka the king's daughter does not climb up a tree, and also has no reason to do so, and the jackals do not play any role. Likewise I do not understand, how it is possible to explain the horse in the half-medallion represented in *Barhut* III, Pl. XXVI as the famous horse Valāha, which, according to the Jātaka (196), brings home 250 merchants, whereas, according to the Divy. p. 120, only the merchant Supriya[9] is brought home. In the medallion a horse is to be seen, being led by a man with a rein, while another man with a spear in hand follows him. The horse is certainly not, as Barua maintains, represented as flying. Besides, the man with the spear, whom nobody would suppose to be a merchant, does not hold fast to the tail of the horse, as told in the story. Barua's opinion that the artist intended to suggest through the man before the horse, that the horse was having a human voice, will not find common consent. Probably the half medallion is purely decorative, and the representation is chosen with regard to the profession of the donor of the pillar, viz. the horseman (*asavārika*) Suladha (Sulabdha), cf. A 22. It seems to me also in no way reasonable to identify the relief on Pl. XLII 9 with the Chullakaseṭṭhij. (4), or even with the Gaṇḍatinduj. (520)[10], or to combine the relief on Pl. XLII 7 with the Madhupiṇḍika-Apadāna (Ap. 97)[11]. The relief on Pl. XLVI 4 is being explained by Barua as the illustration of the Kisa Vaccha episode[12] (J.V, 134, 3 ff.) in the Sarabhaṅgaj. (522). In that case we are asked to believe, that the man who in the relief stands with folded hands before an ascetic is the king who, according to the story, is deeply offended by him because of his spitting. I also consider the interpretation of the relief on the Pl. XLIV 4 and its identification with the Gahapatij. (199)[13] as totally wrong. In any case the man to the left does not lie on the earth, being caught in a noose. On the contrary, he sits in a position called in

[1] *Ibid.* III, p. 3 f. [2] *Ibid.* II, p. 126 f.

[3] *Ibid.* II, p. 90 f. Barua himself seems to have given up the identification of the fragment on Pl. XXXIII 6 with the Suṁsumāraj. (208) proposed in the *JPASB.*, New Ser. XIX, p. 348 f. because it is not again mentioned in his list. The monkey represented in the fragment seems in fact only to be decorative, as well as the squirrels in *Barh.* III, Pl. X.

[4] *Ibid.* II p. 81 f.

[5] *Ibid.* II, p. 103 f. The bridge on which the great elephant walks, and the curious basis on which the small elephant stands remain unexplained.

[6] *BI.* p. 84; *Barh.* II, p. 108 f.—*Dighatapasi* cannot mean ' the venerable ascetic ' but is obviously a proper name.

[7] Some of these false interpretations, not mentioned here, have been discussed in the text.

[8] *BI.* p. 83; *Barh.* II, p. 97 ff.

[9] *Ibid.* II, p. 104 f.

[10] *Ibid.* II, p. 170 f.

[11] *Ibid.* II, p. 167 f.

[12] *Ibid.* II, p. 144 f.

[13] *Ibid.* II, p. 105 f.

Sanskrit *avasakthikā*,[1] in Pāli *saṁghāṭi-* or *dussapallatthikā*[2] and which, as the name indicates, consists in binding the garment round the knees and hips for support. The ascetic in the relief on Pl. XLVI 4 is also sitting in the position of *saṁghāṭipallatthikā*, his right arm, however, being free, while the man in our relief has put the arm in the supporting tie made from his garment.

The treatment by Barua of our inscription No. B 80 (for particulars cf. below) is a further example to show on what unfounded suppositions his identifications are sometimes based. It is also characteristic of the method of Barua, to see how he deals with a small fragment of a coping stone, that is preserved in the Indian Museum and has been reproduced for the first time in *Barhut* III, Pl. LXXV (98). Barua completes the sculpture which bears our inscription B 65 (cf. our treatment) by the photograph of another which, however, as everybody will see at first sight, does not fit in with the former. In this way he finds it possible to identify the relief with the Indasamānagottaj. (161) or with the Mittāmittaj. (197)[3].

Barua's lack of knowledge and feeling for the language has also become a rich source of errors. Barua and Sinha show often in their interpretations of labels a disregard for even the most simple rules of phonology. The inscription B 45 reads *Sechhajataka*. It is probably not to be expected of the authors to know that *sechha* is the western form of Sanskrit *śaiksha* and that *sekha*, the eastern form, has been taken over into Pāli, but the identification of *sechha* with *siñcha*, *secha*, under express rejection of the right etymology, and the translation based thereon as ' a Jātaka-episode of water-drawing '[4], is more than can be forgiven even to a beginner. One may judge the *Koḍāyo* in our inscription B 72 as one likes, but that it cannot go back to *Koḍṛi-rāja* or *koṭṭarāja* and that it cannot mean ' fort-keeper '[5] need scarcely be pointed out. On the name of the mountain Naḍoda occurring at different times in the labels (cf. B 70-76) it is said in BI. p. 98: " Naḍoda seems to equate with *Nālada* or *Nārada*, and is obviously used as a synonym for *Gandhamādana*, *nala* or *nalada* meaning a scented plant or mineral ". In the translations of the labels in *Barhut* II, p. 162, 165, 169, Naḍoda is accordingly simply substituted by " Mt. Nārada ". Any comment seems to me to be superfluous. The inscription B 66 *Bramhadevo mānavako* is translated as " the young [Rūpa-]Brahma deity Subrahmā "[6] or " the youthful Rūpabrahma deity "[7]; the scene has been explained as a greeting of the Buddha by the Brahmakāyika goddesses after he had attained Bodhi. That in fact would be a very curious representation of the event. But it is not necessary to deal with it any further, for the inscription can only mean ' the young Brahmin Brahmadeva ', and that any relation of the relief to the Rūpabrahman goddesses is missing is obvious.

Finally even representations rightly explained for a long time have been wrongly interpreted by Barua. The story of the bullock and the jackal forming the basis of the relief on

[1] *Vaij.*, 95, 299; *Trik.*, 532; *Hem. Abh.*, 679; *Gaut.*, 2, 14; *Manu* 4, 112; *kritvā chaivāvasakthikāṁ nādhīyīta*, rightly translated by Bühler as ' while he sits on his hams with a cloth tied round his knees, let him not study '. In the Buddhist Sanskrit the word has been distorted to *utsaktikā*; *Mvp.*, 263, 19 *notsaktikayā*, 263, 85 *notsaktikākṛitāyāglānāya dharmaṁ deśayishyāmaḥ*.

[2] In *Chullav.*, 5, 28, 2 it is said of the chhabbaggiya monks: *saṁghāṭipallatthikāya nisīdanti saṁghāṭiyā paṭṭā* (so to be read) *lujjanti*, which in *SBE* XX is translated: ' sat down lolling up against their waist-cloths (arranged as a cushion) and the edges of the waist-cloths wore out '. In *Suttav.*, Sekh., 26 it is forbidden to sit in the house *pallatthikāya* on which the old commentary remarks *yo anādariyaṁ paṭicca hatthapallatthikāya vā dussapallatthikāya vā antaraghare nisīdati āpatti dukkaṭassa*. Instead of the garment it was of course possible to support the knees also with the arms. A special cloth has also been used for support—*āyogapaṭṭa*. See *Vv.* 33, 41; *Vism.*, I, 79.

[3] *Barh.* II, p. 99 f.

[4] *BI.*, p. 84.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 92 f.

[6] *BI.*, p. 56.

[7] *Barh.* II, p. 23.

Cunningham's plate XXVII 10 was found years ago by Chavannes, *Contes et Apologues* I, p. XI in some Buddhist text. Barua does not know of it and wants to combine the relief and the Vakaj. (300) which has quite different contents[1]. The scene represented on the pillar of the South-West quadrant having the inscription *Yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ* (Pl. XXV 3) has already been explained rightly by Cunningham (p. 53 ff.) in its main features, although he had access only to the later versions of the story in the Bṛihatkathāmañjarī and in the Kathāsaritsāgara. Minayeff later on hinted at the story of the prudent Amarādevī and the four ministers in the Mahāummaggaj. (546)[2] as the model of the artist[3]. The representation exactly follows the text. Barua[4] manages to identify the relief with two different episodes of the Mahāummagga-Jātaka on the basis of some unbelievable misinterpretations of the details.

But I may stop here. If I wanted to mention all the unjustified conclusions, all the contradictions, inexact and unclear matters found throughout the work of Barua I should have to fill many pages. They are as numerous as the many misprints and false citations.[5]

[1] *Barh.* II, p. 114 f.
[2] *J.*, VI, 368, 14 ff.
[3] *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 148 ff.
[4] *Barh.* II, p. 158 ff.
[5] Thus far the introduction is a rendering of the essentials of Lüders' preliminary remarks in '*Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*,' pp. 1-9.

II. THE LANGUAGE

The Bhārhut inscriptions, which belong to the central group of early Brāhmī inscriptions, are written in a Prakrit showing predominantly Western dialectal characteristics, e.g. the nom. sg. mas. in *-o* (§ 25) and the preservation of *r*, initially and medially, as opposed to the eastern *-e* and *-l*. Barua, *Barh.* I, p. 48, calls the language " a monumental Prakrit with a marked tendency to conform to Pāli diction ". Regarding the inscriptions describing the sculptural representations he is of the opinion " that the scriptural source of the Barhut artists was not in all cases the Pāli but of mixed character, with the predominance of the Pāli elements ".

The following inventory brings out some dialectal mixture, for instance in the representation of the Sk. cluster *ksh* (§ 13), which is sometimes assimilated to *(k)kh* and sometimes palatalised to *(ch)chh*, and in the cerebralisation of *n*, occurring in the Toraṇa inscriptions A1 and A2 only, whereas all other inscriptions avoid the cerebralisation of *n*, and even show the cerebral nasal *ṇ* changed to dental *n* [cf. § 12(c)]. The latter fact is rightly observed by Barua l.c.; but it is a distortion, when he notes such an essential difference between the orthography of the inscriptions on the gateway pillars and the main bulk of inscriptions, as to say " in the former the dental nasal (*n*) is replaced by the cerebral (*ṇ*), and in the latter the cerebral is replaced by the dental." As a glance at the inscriptions will show, A1 and A2 contain dental nasals; the point of difference is no more than that cerebralisation takes place in the two Toraṇa inscriptions[1].

a. Phonology

§ 1. Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ṛi*: The vowel, as usual, shows the threefold treatment *viz.* that it is changed to *a*, *i*, and *u*. However, it is possible to say that the change to *a* is predominant, for the change to *i* occurs only in the illustration *isi*, and in animal names like *sigāla* and *miga*, while the change to *u* is restricted to the words of human relationship.

(I) Change Sk. *ṛi*>*a*:

Sk. *kṛita–*>*kata–* A 112, A 129.
Sk. *kṛishṇa–*>*kanhila–* A 63.
Sk. *gṛihapati–*>*gahapati–* A 21.
Sk. *Suprāvṛisha–*>*Supāvasa–* B 7. (Here ordinarily we should have expected *Supāvusa–* in combination with *v*).

(II) Change Sk. *ṛi*>*i*:

Sk. *ṛishi–*>*isi–* in *Isirakhitā̆–* A 50, A 53, A 87.[2] *Isidata–* A 86; *Isipālita–*A 59.
Sk. *mṛiga–*>*miga–*[3] B 47, B 48, B 68.
Sk. *śṛigāla–*>*sigāla–*[4] B 64. Perhaps also in

[1] A 129, the very fragmentary third Toraṇa inscription, has again only the dental *n*.

[2] According to H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre*, München, 1955, p. 30 *ṛi* becomes *i* as a rule, when the following syllable contains *i*; cf. *kimi* <*kṛimi*, *kiki*<*kṛiki*, *vicchika*<*vṛiśchika*.

[3] The change *ṛi*>*i* in this case is explained by H. Berger (p. 40) as due to the influence of the oft-occurring fem. *mṛigī*>*migī*.

[4] According to H. Berger (p. 25 f.) *sigāla* belongs to the class of words which denote specific Indian things and are therefore most probably of non-Aryan origin. This is supported by the occurrence of the suffix—*āla*/*–āra* which is frequent in words which are etymologically unclear.

Sk. *Ṛishyaśṛiṅgīya–*>*Isis*[*iṁ*]*g*[*iya*] B 53[1].

(III) Change Sk. *ṛi*>*u*:

Sk. *naptṛi–*>*natu–* A 50.

Sk. *mātāpitṛi–*>*māt*[*ā*]*pitu–na* A 108.[2]

§ 2. Treatment of Sk. *ayi* and *ava*:—As is to be expected they become *e* and *o* respectively.

(I) Change *ayi*>*e*:

Sk. **krayitvā*>*ketā* B 32. (But it is also possible to explain the form as coming from *krītvā*>**kittā*>*kettā*. Such a change, however, is not frequent in Bhārhut inscriptions.)

(II) Change *ava*>*o*:

Sk. *Śravaṇā–*>*Sonā–* A 123. (Perhaps this personal name may also be derived from *Suvarṇā–*.)

Sk. *vyavakrānta–*>*vokata–* B 18. (Is it not possible to derive *vokata–* from Sk. *avakrānta–*? The initial *v–* may be a phonetic tendency to pronounce *v* before *o*.)

Sk. *āmravat*(*a*)–>*Aboda–* B 69.

Sk. *avakrānti–*>*ūkraṁti–* (*i.e. okraṁti*) B 19. This is according to Hultzsch, who considers the form as a mistake for *okraṁti*—. Lüders, however, would like to derive it from Sk. *upakrānti–*. In view of the fact that we do not get any long *ū* vowel before a cluster, it is better to regard *ū* as a mistake for *o*, the usual left horizontal stroke being put to the right by mistake. If, however, the reading *ū* is the correct one, then we better read the following letter as *k* and not *kr*. This *k* then will not stand for *kk* as the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. *Mahīdasena–* A 13.

§ 3. Treatment of Sk. diphthongs *ai* and *au*:—As usual they become *e* and *o*, except that *au* is supposed to have been preserved only in a solitary instance (see however below).

(I) Change *ai*>*e* :

Sk. *Vaijayanta–*>*Vejayaṁta–* B 22.

Sk. *Vaidiśa–*>*Vedisa–* A 30, A 33, A 34.

Sk. *śaiksha–*>*sechha–* B 45.

Sk. *–naikāyika–*>*–nekāyika–* A 57.

Once Sk. *chaitya–*>*chātiya–* B 69. This is obviously a mistake, the top horizontal mark being put to the right by mistake instead of to the left. See above the probable mistake in *ūkraṁti–* for *okraṁti–*.

(II) Change *au*>*o*:

Sk. *Gauptīputra–*>*Gotiputa–* A 1.

Sk. *kauśala–*>*kosala–* B 39.

(III) *au* is supposed to have been preserved in:

Sk. *pautra–*>*pauta–* A 1. But this is highly improbable. The change *au*>*o* is found in the very same inscription in the instance *Gotiputa–*. It is

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[1] The change *ṛi*>*i* in *śṛiṅga*>*siṁga* is explained by H. Berger p. 30 to be due to the existence of the old palatal *ś*.

[2] For the change of *ṛi*>*u* in words of relationship as result of the influence of the gen. sg. forms like *pituḥ*, *mātuḥ* etc. see Ch. Bartholomae, *Ausgleichserscheinungen bei den Zahlwörtern 2, 3 und 4 im Mittelindischen.* Mit einem Anhang: über *pitunnaṁ*, Sitzungsber. Heidelberger Akademie 1916, V, and H. Berger p. 60 ff.

therefore reasonable to suppose that the word really has to be read *poteṇa*, see the remark on the akshara *po* in note 1 of A 1.

§4. Treatment of *e* and *o*: These sounds are normally preserved. The following incidental changes, however, may be noted:

(I) Change *e*>*i*: Sk. *kubera*–>*kupira*– B 1. Perhaps this betrays a tendency to pronounce the second syllable short, especially when a long syllable follows (the actual from used is *kupiro*).

(II) *o* occurs for *e* obviously by mistake in
Sk. *Miśrakeśī*–>*Misakosi*– B 28.

(III) Change *o*>*u* before a cluster is attested in
Sk. *Nandottarā*–>*Nadutara*- A 119.

(IV) *māchito* B 62 for *mochito* is obviously a mistake in the eye-copy, the putting in of the upper left horizontal mark having been forgotten.

§5. Treatment of the vowel *a*: Though this vowel is fairly well preserved, it is possibly sometimes lengthened before a consonant cluster, and in a few cases it changes to *i* and *u* under the influence of *y* and *m* respectively.

(I) Change *a*>*ā* before a consonant cluster.—It must be stated that clear cases of this type of change are really very few. Most of them seem to be hypothetical. (Note also that changes *i*>*ī* and *u*>*ū* in similar circumstances are rarely found.)

Sk. *Punarvasu*–>*Punāvasu*– A 72. It is, however, possible that we get here a combination of *punā*– and *vasu*, *punā* itself being the form for *punar*–. Thus the change of *a*>*ā* in *Punāvasu* may not have anything to do with the cluster *rv*; cf. similar combinations in *Araha-guto* B 18, B 20, and *chha-daṁtiya* B 49.

Sk. *Aṅgāradyut*–>*Āgaraju*– A 1. Here also the right horizontal mark in the middle supposed to be for *ā* is not very clear and seems accidental, exactly as in the case of *pauteṇa*. Note also that in the inscription A 2 line 2 we get *Agaraju*– with short *a*.

Sk. *Gaṅgāmitra*–>*Gāgamita*– A 89.

Sk. *saṭṭaka*–>*sāḍika*– B 27. But *sāḍika*– may go back to *sāṭikā*.

The next are the three instances where *a*>*ā* occurs in the genitive singular term. –*assa*>–*āsa*; cf.

asavārikāsa A 22, *Thupadāsāsa* A 25, *bhadaṁtāsa* A 38. Similarly we get a long vowel before a simplified cluster of *rājñaḥ*>**rañño*>*rāño* A 4; cf. also *Gāgīputa*– and *Vāchhiputa* in A 1.

(II) Writing of *a* as *ā* by mistake is found in *toranāṁ* A 1 (cf. § 12, c), *dān*[*ā*] A 49 a, *gajājātaka* B 42 a, *Bhāranideva*– A 100, *Dhamārakhitā* A 52, and *Bhutārakhita*– A 38.

(III) Change *a*>*i* due to the influence of palatal *y*:

Sk. *nyagrodha*–>*nigodha*– B 70.

Sk. *Ṛishyamṛiga*–>*Isimiga*– B 48. (This is according to Lüders, all other editors derive it from *Ṛishimṛiga*–.)

Sk. *Ṛishyaśṛiṅga*–>*Isisiṁga*– B 53.

(IV) Change *a*>*u* due to the influence of labial *m*:

Sk. *smaśāna*–>*susāna*– B 64.[1]

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[1] The change *a*>*u* in *susāna*– is explained by H. Berger as a result of *saṁprasāraṇa*. For this the author presupposes (18, 6. n. 13; also cf. p. 61, 66) a hypothetical form **śvaśāna*– for *smaśāna*–. But elsewhere the rounding of lips due to *m* is shown by Berger himself.

§6. Treatment of the vowel *ā*: This vowel suffers most changes, though it is not infrequent to find it well preserved. It is principally changed to *a* before a consonant cluster, before the gen. sg. fem. term., at the end of the word mostly in nom. sg. fem. and abl. sg. mas., and lastly it is represented as a short vowel in some cases mostly due to the negligence of the scribe and should in fact be taken to stand for a long vowel in such cases.

(I) Change *ā*>*a* before a consonant cluster:

Sk. *ārya–*>*aya–* A 38, A 51, A 56 etc.

Sk. *rājya–*>*raja–* A 1, A 2. (It may be observed that in the inscription A 1 long *ā* is preserved in *Gāgīputa–* and *Vāchhiputa–*.)

Sk. *bhāryā–*>*bhaya-ye* A 4.

Sk. *Kāśyapa–*>*Kasapa–* B 17.

This change is also observed before clusters with nasals:

Sk. *sūtrāntika–*>*sutaṁtika–* A 51.

Sk. *upakrānti–*(?)>*ūkraṁti–* B 19 [cf. § 2 (II)].

Sk. *vyavakrānta–* (?)>*vokata–* B 18.

Sk. *brāhmaṇa–*>*bramana–* B 51.

Sk. *rājñaḥ*>*raño* A 1. (But cf *rāño* A 4. We also get long *ā* in *rājano* A 3 and short *a* in *rajano* A 130, where we have to suppose that the gen. sg. forms are formed on the analogy of such forms as *attano* etc.)

Sk. *ātmanā*>*atanā* A 112.

Sk. *āmravat*(*a*)–>*Aboda–* B 69.

(II) Change *ā*>*a* before the gen. (abl.) sg. fem. termination. It is observed before the term. *–ya* and sometimes before *–ye*, but never before *–yā*.

Sk. *Pushyadevā–*>*Pusadeva-ya* A 120.

Sk. *bhāryā–*>*bhāriya-ya* A 46. Also cf. *Purikaya* A 17, *Purikayā*[1] A 19 (in these two cases abl. sg. term.), *Badhikaya* A 42, *Nadutaraya* A 119, and *Nagarikaya* A 43.

Sk. *Pushyadattā–*>*Pusadata-ye* A 43, A 44.

Sk. *Nāgā–*>*Nāga-ye* A 74. Also cf. *Kamūchukaye* A 54 b, *Bhutaye* A 77, and *Sapagutaye* A 78.[2]

As against these instances we have numerous instances where *ā* is preserved before *–ya* and *–ye*; cf. the following: *Nāgasenāya* A 14, *Purikāya* A 16 (abl. sg.), *Idadevāya* A 19, A 45, *Sāmāya* A 20, *Bhojakaṭakāya* A 24, *Benākaṭikāya* A 49 a, *bhāriyāya* A 115, *Soṇāya* A 123 etc. etc.; before *–ye* cf. *Nāgarakhitāye* A 4, *nāgarikāye* A 44, *Phagudevāye* A 75, *Ujhikāye* A 114, *Ghosāye* A 117 etc.

As mentioned above *ā* is never shown as *a* before the ending *–yā*; cf. *Kujarāyā* A 10, *Nāgadevāyā* A 11, *samanāyā* A 12, *Purikāyā* (abl. sg.) A 18, A 20, *Pusāyā* A 27, *Nāgilāyā* A 29, *Sirimāyā* A 48 etc. etc.

(III) Change *–ā*>*–a* at the end of a word:

(a) At the end of nom. sg. fem. words; cf. *devata* B 8, B 12, *Sudasana* B 10, *Mahakoka* B 12, *Idasālaguha* B 35, *Sivala* B 56, *–Chitupādasila* B 67.

(b) Also in the acc. sg. fem. with or without the loss of final anusvāra; cf. *disa* B 26, *katha* (<*kanthā* acc. to Lüders) B 73, *dakhinaṁ* B 26.

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[1] Perhaps this is a mistake for *Purikāya* (cf. A 16) or *Purikāyā* (cf. A 18, A 20), as we do not get any other instance of the shortening of *–ā* before *–yā*.

[2] In A 24 we get *Diganagay*[*e*]. It will be seen that the final vowel stroke is not quite clear. At other places in this inscription we get the gen. sg. term. *–ya* in *Bhojakaṭakāya* and *bhichhuniya* and not *-ye*. *Na*[*ṁ*]*d*[*i*]*nagarikaya* A 45 may be a mistake for *–kāya*, because in the same inscription we get *Idadevāya*; and *bhayaye* A 4 may be a mistake for *bhayāye*, as we have *Nāgarakhitāye* in the same inscription.

(c) At the end of the abl. sg. mas. forms: *Karahakaṭa* A 6, A 7, *Chekulana* A 40, *Nāsika* A 46.

(d) The final *ā* of gen. pl. mas. is also sometimes shortened to *a* (which is shown with or without anusvāra); cf. *Suganaṁ* A 1, *dāyakana* A 16, *Sagāna* (for *Sugāna*) A 2 and *devānaṁ* B 27. (Note that in the first two instances *ā* is changed to *a* also before the gen. pl. term.)

(e) The final *ā* of instrumental sg. is shortened in *Dhanabhūtina* A 1.

(IV) In the end we may note that *ā* is sometimes represented as *a* just by way of a mistake in such cases as:

Sk. *dāna–>dana–* A 81, A 127.

Sk. *jātaka–>jataka–* B 42 (the actual form here being *jatara–*), B 45, B 48, B 51 etc.

Sk. *Sthāna–>*Ṭhāna–>Ṭana–* A 127.

Sk. *rājan–>[nā]garajā* B 36.

Sk. *ārāmaka–>arāmaka–* B 72. Also in the following instances *matu* A 28, A 120, *Samidatā–* A 122, *Samika–* or *Samaka–* A 6, A 41, A 66, *bhanaka–* A 39, A 61, *Anaṁda–* A 50, and *Bĭbikanadikaṭa* A 21, A 22. (Perhaps in this last instance *ā* in *Bimbikā* becomes short as at the end of the first member of a compound.)

One wonders whether these instances suggest a slightly appreciable tendency to pronounce the first syllable short, as the following instances perhaps show a tendency to pronounce the second syllable short: *Āgaraju*[1] A 1, *Agaraju* A 2, *Biḍala* B 42, *Sujata* B 50, *avayesi* B 51, *Asaḍā* B 64. In the instances *vijadhara–* B 61, *Mahamukhi–* A 42, and *Mahakoka* B 12 the change has occurred in compound.

(V) The change of *ā>i* in *Venuvagimiyā* (Sk. *Veṇukagrāma–*) is not certain, as Lüders is inclined to read *Venuvagāmiyā*.

§ 7. Treatment of the Sk. vowel *i*: The vowel is fairly well preserved. The changes that occur are rather sporadic and have no general application.

(I) Change *i>ī* before a cluster. The only illustrations are: *Bībikanadikaṭa* A 22 (if its derivation from *Bimbikānadīkaṭa* is correct). *Mahendrasena–>*Mahiddasena–>Mahīdasena–* A 13. But we find that the short vowel is preserved in such cases as *Idadevā* A 19, A 45.

(II) Change *i>e* before a cluster, observed only in *Vesabhu–* (*Viśvabhū–*) B 14 and *Anādhapeḍika–* (*–piṇḍika–*) B 22. The same change, but not before a cluster, is perhaps to be seen in *Kosabeyekā–* (*Kauśāmbeyikā–*) A 52 (but Lüders is inclined to read *kosabeyikaya*), and in *śrī–>seri–* A 100 (see, however, f.n. 3 to A 100, p. 52).

(III) Writing of *i* as *a*, obviously due to the negligence on the part of the scribe to attach *i* vowel mark, is seen in *chetaya* (for *chetiya<chaitya*) B 68, *Samaka–* (*svāmi–*) A 66, *Moragirami* (*giri–*) A 26, and *timigala* B 62 (but Lüders proposes to read *timiṁgila*).

(IV) Change *i>u* due to assimilation in *u[su](kāro)* (*ishu*)– B 56, and *Susupālo* (*Śiśupāla–*) B 72.

§ 8. Treatment of the long vowel *ī*: This vowel is mostly shortened before the gen. sg. term., in the compound formation, in suffixes and occasionally before a consonant

[1] Perhaps an instance of metathesis. But we may also read *Agaraju;* see § 5 (I), p. XV.

cluster; it is also sometimes shortened by mistake. In all these cases it is interesting to compare these changes with those of the long vowel *ā*.

(I) Change *ī*>*i* before a cluster is not at all frequent. The only instance observable is *Dighatapasi* (*dīrgha–*) B 63.

(II) Change *ī*>*i* before gen. sg. term. This change is universal and is observed before all the three terminations, viz. *–ya*, *–yā*, and *–ye*; cf. some of the following instances: *–bhichhuniya* A 24 etc., *Vāsiṭhiya* A 35, *Kākaṁdiya* (abl. sg.) A 37, *bhikhuniyā* A 12 etc., *Koḍiyāniyā* A 14, A 15, *yakhiyā* A 116, *bhikhuniye* A 44, *bhichhuniye* A 43, A 74 etc.

(III) Change *ī*>*i* is observed at the end of the nom. sg. of stems ending in *ī*[1] and *in*: *yakhi* B 2, *yakhini* B 10, *Padum*[*ā*]*vat*[*i*] B 30, *Dighatapasi* B 63.

(IV) Change *ī*>*i* is observed in the compound formations in *Vāchhiputa–* A 1, *Gotiputa–* A 1, *Revatimita–* A 34, *Bhāranideva–* A 100.[2] But long *ī* is kept in *Gāgīputa–* A1.

(V) Change *ī*>*i* is observed in suffixes in all cases; cf. *chhadaṁtiya* B 49, *yavamajhakiya* B 52, *Maghādeviya* B 57, *Bhogavaḍhaniya* A 51 etc.

This change is also found before the possesive suffix *–mat*, cf. *Sirimā* B 8, *Sirimasa* A 110.

(VI) In the following instances the shortening occurs due to mistake or as a result of occasionally pronouncing first or second syllable short.
Isāna– (*īśāna–*) A 84 a, A 85 b, *tira–* (*tīra–*) B 62 (but Lüders proposes to regard the sign for *ra* as a chance stroke and to read *timi* instead of *tirami* and combine *timi* with the following *timiṁgila*), *Sirisapada–* (*Śirīshapadra–*?) A 53.

§ 9. The short vowel *u* is well preserved. It is shown, obviously by mistake, as *a* in *Saga–* (for *Suga–*<*Śuṅga–*) A 2 and in *kamāra–* (*kumāra–* ?) A 3.

§10. The long vowel *ū* is not preserved.

(I) It is changed to *u* before a cluster in *Punakiya* (*Pūrṇakīya*) B 55; *sutaṁtika–* (*sūtrāntika–*) A 51, *Dhuta–* (*Dhūrta–*) A 96, and *tura–* (*tūrya–*) B 27.

(II) It is changed before the gen. sg. mas. term. in *Vesabhuṇā* B 14 (or rather *Vesabhuno*, cf. § 12 (c)).

(III) It is shortened in the first syllable in the following instances: *Bhuta–* or *Bhutaka–* (*Bhūta–*) A 8, A 31, A 38, *Thupadāsa* (*Stūpadāsa–*) A 25, *rupakāra–* (*rūpa–*) A 55, *suchi–* (*sūchi–*) A 23, B 9 etc., *muga–* (*mūka–*) B 59, *Dusita–* (*Dūshita–*) B 75, and once in the second syllable in *Viruḍaka–* (*Virūḍhaka–*) B 4.

§11. Treatment of simple consonants: The simple consonants are in a very large majority of cases well preserved. The cases of palatalisation and cerebralisation have been separately dealt with below (§ 13, § 14). The change of surds to sonants occurs in a few cases with *k*, *ṭ*, *t*, and *th*. The opposite tendency of changing sonants to surds occurs in only two illustrations with *d* and *b*. This latter tendency may show the hand of a north-western scribe in the writing of these inscriptions.

§12. Treatment of Sanskrit stops:

(a) In the case of gutturals, the only change of note that has occurred is of *–k–*>*–g–*[3] in only one instance
Sk. *mūka–*>*muga–* B 59 (see the change of *–ṭ–*>*–ḍ–*, *–t–*>*–d–* and *–th–*>*–dh–* below).
The change of *kh*>*k* as a result of loss of aspiration is found in *Dṛidhanishkrama–*

[1] The only case where *ī* is shown as ending of the nom. sg. is *devī* B 56.

[2] Perhaps also in *Bībikanadikaṭa* (*Bimbikānadīkaṭa*) A 21, A 22.

[3] The opposite change of *–g–*>*–k–* in *Ajakālako* B 3 is not noticed, as Lüders himself seems to have given up his suggestion to equate this word with Ajagālaka–. He is inclined to take *Kālaka* from the root *kal*.

>**Daḍanikkhama–>Daḍanikama–* B 77.

Once *-k-* seems to have become *–v–*, due to assimilation, cf. *Veṇukagrāma–>Venuvagima–* A 52. *jatara* B 42 for *jataka* is obviously a mistake.

(b) The palatals are equally well preserved. The change of *–j–>–y–* is to be noticed in *Mahāsāmājikā–>Mahāsāmāyikā–* B 18. (For palatalisation see below §13.)

(c) The cerebrals, with the exception of *ṇ*, are well preserved. The change of *–ṭ–>–ḍ–* is found once in *sāṭikā* (or *saṭṭaka*)>*sāḍika–* B 27. The change of *ṭh>ṭ* is perhaps to be noticed in *Sthāna–>*Ṭhāna–>Ṭana–* A 127, *Śreshṭhaka–>Seṭṭhaka–>Seṭaka–* A 18, *sṛishṭotpādāna–*(?)>**saṭṭhopādāna–>saṭupadāna–* A 58, and the change of *–ḍh–>–ḍ–* is noticed thrice:

Sk. *Ashāḍhā>asaḍā* B 64, Sk. *Virūḍhaka–>Viruḍaka–* B 4, Sk. *Dṛiḍhanishkrama–>Daḍanikama–*[1] B 77.

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is, however, in all cases changed to *n*, except in the inscriptions A 1 and A 2:

Sk. *bhāṇaka–>bhanaka–*or *bhānaka–* A 39, A 59, A 54a, A 61, A 62, Sk. *śramaṇā>samanā* A 12, Sk. *brāhmaṇa–>bramana–* B 51.

Even in term. we have *n* for *ṇ*, cf. *m[ā]tāpituna* A 108. In B 14 we have *Vesabhuṇā*. But as the gen. sg. term. is *no*, this is obviously a mistake for *Vesabhuno*.

Now in A 1 and A 2 we find *ṇ* preserved in the body of the word and in terminations, cf. *toraṇa–*[2] A 2, *puteṇa* A 1, *pauteṇa* A 1.

In A 1 we have *toranāṁ*. The *nā*, as has been noted in Lüders' treatment of the inscription, is obviously a mistake for *ṇa*.

Similarly *Vāchhiputena* in A 1 may be considered as a mistake for *Vāchhiputeṇa*. (For cerebralisation see below § 14.)

(d) The dentals show only the following few instances of certain changes:

Change of a surd to sonant is found in two cases:

–t–>–d– in Sk. *āmravat(a)–>Aboda–* B 69,

–th–>–dh– in *Anāthapiṇḍika–>Anādhapeḍika–* B 32.

The contrary change of a sonant to surd is found in *–d–>–t–* in Sk. *Vidura–>Vitura–* B 55. (See the change of *–b–>–p–* below.)

–d–>–y– in Sk. *avādesi>avayesi* B 51. Lüders notes that this change is an eastern peculiarity and shows that the original text of the Gāthās was composed in a dialect of eastern India. On the other hand we get *bramano* in the same inscription, and the preservation of the cluster *br* as well as the nom. sg. in *o* are western characteristics.

(e) The labials also show only instances of sporadic changes: *–b–>–p–* in *Kubera–>Kupira–* B 1 (see above the change of *–d–>–t–*), *b>bh* in Sk. *bisa–>bhisa–* B 58.

§13. Palatalisation: The instances of palatalisation are not frequent, cf. *vidyādhara–>vijadhara–* B 61, *Aṅgāradyut–>Āgaraju–* A 1, A 2 and *yavamadhyakīya>yavamajhakiya* B 52. Perhaps we find palatalisation also in *Vātsīputra–>Vāchhiputa–* in A 1, *dhenachhaka* B 76< *dhenūtsaka–*. The cluster *ps* is palatalised to *chh* in Sk. *apsaras– >achharā–* B 28, B 30, B 31.

More important is the treatment of the cluster *ksh* which is sometimes assimilated to (*k*)*kh*, but sometimes palatalised to (*ch*)*chh*. The word that shows both the treatments

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[1]Hultzsch derives it from *Daṇḍanishkrama*.

[2]But we have *torana–* in A 129.

simultaneously is *bhikshuṇī*[1]. According to T. Michelson[2] and Lüders[3], the *–kh–* forms are the eastern and the *–chh–* forms are the western ones, because this distinction is clearly shown by the Eastern and Western inscriptions of Aśoka[4]. Recently H. Berger has put forward this view in a modified form. He states that *ksh>chchh* is not found in the east, in Māgadhī. The change of *ksh>chchh* in the central and western dialects in a number of instances is explained by him not as the result of a spontaneous dialectic tendency but is taken as the result of 'certain phonetic conditions'; accordingly in all such cases where *ksh* becomes *chchh*, he tries to find out the phonetic conditions which govern the change (see Berger l.c. p. 71 ff. and p. 86). So while in the opinion of S. K. Chatterji, *ksh* becomes *chchh* in *bhikshu(ṇī)*, because of the habit to pronounce this word as *bhikshyu(ṇī)*, according to H. Berger the *chchh* is the result of dissimilation of the two gutturals in the form *bhikshuka> bhikkhuka*. But this seems unlikely, as the word *bhikshuka* does not occur in Buddhist literature and in Prakrit inscriptions, and even in Sanskrit literature it is not very old. It is more reasonable to suppose that the double treatment shows the different speech habits of the regions from which the monks (or nuns) came, or of the scribes who were responsible for recording the donations. The Eastern form *bhikkhu* gradually must have gone over to the other regions as it was an ecclesiastical term, cf. also Lüders, *Bhārh.* p. 174.

(I) Instances for *ksh>kh* are *dakshiṇa–>dakhina–* B 26, *yaksha–>yakha–* B 1, B 3 etc.[5]; *Ṛishirakshitā>Isirakhitā* A 50, A 53, A 87, A 88[6]; *bhikshuṇi>bhikhuni* A 11, A 12, A 29 etc.

(II) Instances of the Western change of *ksh>chh* are found mostly in the parallels for the Sk. word *bhikshuṇī*; cf. *bhichhuni* A 24, A 37, A 42, A 43, A 74, etc. It may be interesting to observe that this change takes place when the (ab. or) gen. suffix is *–ye* or *–ya*. It never shows this form with the suffix *–yā*.

Words other than *bhichhuni* in which palatalisation of *ksh* is found are *Chula–* (*Kshudra–*) B 11, *sechha–* (*śaiksha–*) B 45[7] and *kuchhi–* (*kukshi*) B 62.[8]

Perhaps the word for 'six' *chha* B 26, and B 49, is to be equated with **kshaṭ*.[9]

§14. Cerebralisation: Not many instances of cerebralisation are witnessed in these inscriptions. The only instances available are *paṭisaṁdhi* (*prati–*) B 18, *aṭha* (*artha*) A 108, *paṭhama* (*prathama*) A 34, *Bhogavaḍhaniya* (*–vardhana*) A 51, *Sthāna>*Ṭhāna>Ṭana* A 127 (for cerebralisation of *n* see §12 c above).

§15. Sibilants: As in the case of the Prakrits of the midland all the three sibilants are reduced to the single dental sibilant without any exception; cf. *Ajātasatu* (*–śatru*) B 40, *sisa*

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[1] The word *bhikshu*: *bhikkhu*, *bhichchhu* does not occur in the Bhārhut inscriptions. Both the Prakrit forms, however, occur in the Sāñchī inscriptions.

[2] *JAOS.*, 30, 88.

[3] *Bhārh.*, p. 173 ff. See also Reichelt in *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft* (Festschrift Streitberg, 1924) p. 244; J. Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe* p. 111 ff.; S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 469.

[4] Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona 1948, §37 (iii) and f. n. 42.

[5] We have also *yakhila* A 105, *yakhi* B 2, A 116, *yakhini* B 10.

[6] We have also *Agirakhita* A 23; *Gorakhitā* A 46; A 68, *Devarakhita* A 93; *Dhamarakhitā* A 95, A 118; *Nāgarakhitā* A 4, [*Na*]*garakhita* A 54 b, *Budharakhitā* A 55, A 57, A 58, A 76; *Bhutarakhita* A 31; *Sagharakhita* A 108.

[7] Acc. to Lüders *sechha* is the western form, whereas *sekha* is the eastern one. See *Bhārh.* p. 174 and below p. 124. H. Berger (p. 86) says that the palatal in *sechha* does not conform to his theory, which demands *sekha* and that the word is therefore an exception which cannot be explained.

[8] Acc. to Berger the palatal in *kuchhi* is due to dissimilation to avoid the second guttural (*kukhi*), p. 72.

[9] In the opinion of H. Berger the palatal in *chha* should have first developed, when this word followed an anusvāra at the end of the preceding word in a sentence. According to him there was a tendency in the Indo-Aryan to avoid the sequence of a nasal and a sibilant. p. 70.

(*śishya*) B 63, *silā* (*śilā*) A 1, *Ghosā* (*Ghoshā*) A 117, *Asaḍā* (*Ashāḍhā*) B 64, *Alaṁbusā* (*Alaṁbushā*) B 31 etc. etc.

§16. Final consonants of Sanskrit words are usually dropped and we get the base with a vowel ending, cf. *Suchilomo* B 9, *Pasenaji* B 39, *Sirimā* B 8, *Sirimasa* A 110.

But in a few cases the final consonant is preserved and we get the inflected forms directly from their Sanskrit equivalents, cf. *bhagavato* B 13, B 15, and *Vipasino* B 13. In *Abode* (loc. sg.) the base is *Aboda* which Lüders derives from *Āmravat* with an addition of the vowel at the end.

§17. Clustered consonants: The consonant clusters are as a rule assimilated, the single letters, where the cluster occurs medially, serving the purpose of the double one[1]. It is only in a few cases that clusters with *r* are preserved; the cases of anaptyxis are also equally rare.

§18. Clusters with stops:

(a) The so-called double consonants are always represented as single ones. Thus *kukuṭa–* (*kukkuṭa–*) B 42, *Ujhikā* (*Ujjhikā*) A 114, *Isidata–* (*Ṛishidatta–*) A 86, *Budhi–* (*Buddhi–*) A 21, *Sudhāvāsa–* (*Śuddhāvāsa–*) B 24 etc. etc.

(b) Clusters with *g* like *rg* and *lg*>g (i.e. *gg*); cf. *Gāgīputa–* (*Gārgīputra–*) A 1, *Phagudevǎ–* (*Phalgudevā–*) A 30, A 75; similarly *rgh*>*gh* (*ggh*) in *Dighatapasi* (*Dīrghatapasvin–*) B 63.

(c) Clusters with *ṭh* like *shṭh* (or *shṭ*)>*ṭh* (or *ṭ*) (i.e. *ṭṭh*[2] or *ṭṭ*). Thus *Vāsiṭhi–* (*Vāsishṭhī–*) A 35, *Jeṭhabhadra–* (*Jyeshṭhabhadra–*) A 92. In *Seṭaka–* (*Śreshṭhaka–*) A 18, and *saṭupadāna–* (*sṛishṭopādāna–*?) A 58 we have *ṭ* and not *ṭh*.

(d) Clusters with *t* like *kt*, *pt* and *rt*>*t* (i.e. *tt*); cf. *Atimuta–* (*Atimukta–*) A 81, *Vasuguta–* (*Vasugupta–*) B 62, *Dhamaguta–* (*Dharmagupta–*) A 94, A 120, *natu–* (*naptṛi–*) A 50, *Dhuta–* (*Dhūrta–*) A 96.

The cluster *st* is always assimilated to *th*, where medially it stands for *tth*; cf. *thabha–* (*stambha–*) A 6, A 7 etc.; *Bahuhathika–* (*Bahuhastika–*) B 70, B 71, B 81; *Thupadāsa–* (*Stūpadāsa–*) A 25.

(e) The cluster *bdh*>*dh* (*ddh*): *Suladha–* (*Sulabdha–*) A 22.

(f) Clusters with *p* like *tp*, *rp*, and *lp*>*p* (*pp*); cf. *upaṁna–* (*utpanna–*) A 1, *chitupāda–* (*chitrotpāta–*?) B 67, *Sapagutā* (*Sarpaguptā*) A 78, *Vijapi* (*Vijalpin–*?) B 61.

§19. Clusters with the semivowel *y*: Almost in all cases the clusters are assimilated. Only in the case of *ty* and sometimes in *ry* we find an instance of anaptyxis.

(a) Clusters *ky* and *jy*>*k* (*kk*) and *j* (*jj*); *ty*>*tiy*.
Sk. *Śākyamuni–*>*Sakamuni–* B 23.
Sk. *rājya–*>*raja–* A1, A2.
Sk. *chaitya–*>*chātiya–* B 69.

(b) The cluster *ry* becomes mostly *y* (*yy*), but in a few cases *riy*.
Sk. *ārya–*>*aya–* A 33, A 38 etc. etc.
Sk. *bhāryā–*>*bhayā–* A 4; but *bhāriyā–* A 34, A 115.

(c) The cluster *vy*>*v* in *vokata–* (*vyavakrānta–*?) B 18.

(d) The clusters *sy*, *śy*, and *shy*>*s* (*ss* medially).
Sk. *Kāśyapa–*>*Kasapa–* B 17.
Sk. *Śyāmaka–*>*Sāmaka–* A 66, A 73.
Sk. *śishya–*>*sisa–* B 63.

[1] In a few cases where we have a long vowel before the assimilated cluster, the single consonant perhaps does not stand for the double one; cf. above the remarks under the treatment of the vowel *a*.

[2] As already mentioned (§ 14) cerebralisation has no great scope in these inscriptions.

Sk. *Pushyaka–*>*Pusaka–* A 47 etc.

For the change of *sy*>*s* we have the instances of gen. sg. of mas. nouns in *–a*. (In a few cases where the preceding vowel is lengthened before this ending *s* does not stand for *ss*. See above under the treatment of vowel *a* § 5 (i).)
(For palatalisation of dental clusters with *y*, viz. *dy* and *dhy*, see § 13.)

§20. Clusters with the semivowel *r*: In a large majority of cases these clusters are assimilated. In a few instances clusters *kr*, *dr*, and *br* are preserved[1], and in a few cases anaptyxis steps in with the cluster *śr*.

(a) The Cluster *kr*>*k* (*kk*) (or *kr*).
Sk. *Chakravāka–*>*Chakavāka–* B 6; also *dhamachaka–* B 38, *Bodhichaka–* A 106.
In the case of *chaṅkrama–*>*chakama–* B 77, B 78, A 127 we do not find the representation of the anusvāra.
In *Daḍanikama–* (*Dṛiḍhanishkrama–*) B 77 the aspiration due to *sh* is lost.
The cluster *kr* is preserved only in *ūkraṁti* (*upakrānti–*?) B 19.

(b) The cluster *gr*>*g* (*gg*): *nigodha–* (*nyagrodha–*) B 70.

(c) The cluster *tr*>*t* (*tt* medially) in all cases; cf.
Sk. *Mitra–*>*Mita–* A 101.
Sk. *putra–*>*puta–* A 1; also *devaputa–* B 18, B 20 etc.
Sk. *trikoṭika–*>*tikoṭika–* B 78.

(d) The cluster *dr*>*d* (*dd* when not accompanied by anusvāra and when not preceded by the long vowel) (or *dr*) or *l* (*ll*).
Sk. *Sambhadrā–*>*Sabhadā* B 29.
In the case of *ndr*>*d* we do not get anusvāra in Sk. *Chandrā–*>*Chadā* B 2, but the anusvāra is represented in *Chaṁdā* A 128.
Sk. *Indradevā–*>*Idadevā–* A 19, A 45; also *Idasālaguhā* B 35, *Mahīdasena–* A 13.
The cluster *dr* is preserved in *Jeṭhabhadra–* (*Jyeshṭhabhadra–*) A 92.
The cluster *dr*>*l* in the case of Sk. *kṣudra–*; cf. *Chulakokā* B 11, *aya-Chula–* A 51, *Chulana–* A 91.

(e) The cluster *pr*>*p* (*pp* medially) in all cases.
Sk. *prāsāda–*>*pāsāda–* B 22.
Sk. *Suprāvṛisha–*>*Supāvasa–* B 7.

(f) The cluster *br* is preserved in *bramana–* (*brāhmaṇa–*) B 51, *Bramhadeva–* (*Brahmadeva–*) B 66.

(g) The clusters *śr* and *sr*>*s* (*ss* medially) generally.
Skt *śramaṇā–*>*samanā–* A 12.
Sk. *Miśrakeśī–*>*Misakosi–* B 28.
Sk. *sahasra–*>*–sahasa–* B 26.
The cluster *śr*>*sir* (or *ser*) in
Sk. *Śrīmat–*>*Sirima–* A 110, or fem. noun *Sirimā–* B 8, A 48.
Sk. *Śrī-putra–*?>*Seriyā-puta–* A 100.

§21. Clusters with the semivowel *v*: Mostly the clusters are assimilated, but we get two instances of anaptyxis.

(a) Cluster *tv*>*t* (*tt*) in *ketā* (*krayitvā*) B 32.
Cluster *ṭv*, however, becomes *ṭuv* in *laṭuvā* (*laṭvā*) B 44.

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[1] Such clusters with *r* are also retained in Pāli in words like *chitra*, *bhadra*, *tatra*, *brāhmaṇa* etc. Cf. H. Berger (l.c. p. 19f.) and inscriptional Prakrits (see Mehendale l.c. § 410). In Bhārhut, the tendency to preserve clusters is found only with regard to *r*, whereas in the Aśoka inscriptions it is found also with other semivowels like *y* and *v* (Mehendale l.c. § 43, § 45.)

(b) Cluster *rv*>*v* in *Punāvasu*– (*Punarvasu*–) A 72 (see, however, article §5 (i)).

(c) Clusters *śv* and *sv* are assimilated to *s* (*ss* medially).

Sk. *Viśvadeva*–>*Visadeva*– A 1.

Sk. *Viśvabhū*–>*Vesabhu*– B 14 (the *e* in the first syllable is short, as *o* in the case of *okraṁti* B 19, if that reading is the correct one).

Sk. *Svāmika*–>*Samika*– A 6, A 41.

Sk. *Dīrghatapasvin*–>*Dighatapasi* B 63.

§22. Clusters with sibilants: The most important cluster under this head is *ksh* which shows double treatment viz. *kh* (*kkh*) and *chh* (*chchh*). This has been already dealt with above under palatalisation §13. The other cluster met with is *rś* which becomes *s* (*ss*), cf. *Sudasana* (*Sudarśana*) B 10.

§23. Clusters with *h*: The only cluster to be found is *rh* which is represented as *rah* in *Arahaguta*– (*arhat*–) B 18, B 20.

§24. Clusters with nasals: These clusters are assimilated, and the anusvāra is mostly not shown in the case of clusters with *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, and *m*. In the case of clusters with *n*, however, the anusvāra is mostly represented in writing. The absence of anusvāra is to be attributed to the negligence of the scribe and not to the phonetic tendency; otherwise we have to regard the simple letter as standing for the double one.

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ṅ*: The two clusters to be observed are *ṅg* and *ṅgh*, and they are very often represented without the anusvāra. Cf. *Suga*– (*Śuṅga*–) A 1 (*Saga*– A 2), *Ăgaraju*– (*Aṅgāradyut*–) A 1, A 2, *Sagha*– (*Saṅgha*–) A 40, A 108, A 109. The anusvāra is shown in *Gaṁgita*– (*Gaṅgita*–) B 5, *timiṁgila*– (*timiṅgila*–) B 62, as read by Lüders, (other editors have read *timigala*–), and perhaps in *Sa*[*ṁ*]*ghamita*– A 106, and *isis*[*iṁ*]*g*[*iya*] (*Ṛishyaśṛiṅga*–) B 53. For the cluster *ṅkr* see §20 (a).

(b) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*: The cluster *ñc* is perhaps represented with anusvāra in *pa*[*ṁ*]*chanekāyika*– A 57. But *ñj* is without anusvāra: *Kujarā*– (*kuñjarā*–) A 10. The cluster *jñ* is in all cases assimilated to *ñ*. Cf. *rāño* (*rājñaḥ*) A 1, A 4, *sigālañati* (*śṛigālajñapti*) B 64.

(c) Clusters with the nasal *ṇ*: In the case of this cluster too it is not customary to mark the anusvāra; thus *Anādhapeḍika*– (–*piṇḍika*–) B 32, *Kaḍariki* (*Kaṇḍarikī*) B 60, and *Muḍa*– (*Muṇḍa*–) A 102.

The cluster *rṇ* is assimilated to dental *n* in *Punakiya*– (*Pūrṇakīya*–) B 55.

Similarly *ṇṇ* is assimilated to dental *n* in *Avisana*– (*Avishaṇṇa*–?) A 82.

In *nh* coming from *ṇh* also we find the dental: *Kṛishṇila*–>**Kaṇhila*– *Kanhila*– A 63.

(d) Clusters with the nasal *n*: In a majority of cases the anusvāra is not represented in the parallels for *bhadanta*; thus *bhadata*– A 39, A 58, A 59, A 64, A 65, A 66, but *bhadaṁta*– only in A 38 and A 61. In all other cases, except one, we find anusvāra represented in the case of cluster *nt*: *ūkraṁti* B 19, *vejayaṁto* B 22, *chhadaṁtiya* B 49, *silākaṁmaṁto* A 1, *aṁtevāsino* A 73, *sutaṁtikasa* A 51. The anusvāra is, however, not found in *vokata*– (*vyavakrānta*–) B 18.

In the case of *nth* anusvāra is seen in *Paṁthaka*– A 71, but not in *katha* (*kanthā*)[1] B 73.

The cluster *nd* also is more often shown with the anusvāra: *Kākaṁdī*– A 37, *Na*[*ṁ*]*d*[*i*]*nagarikā*– A 45, *Anaṁda*– A 50, *Naṁda*– A 69, [*Na*]*ṁdagiri*– A 97,

[1] Derivation according to Lüders. Bühler would connect it with *kvātha*, and Hultzsch with *kāshṭha* (*katha* being mistake for *kaṭha*).

vaṁdate B 40. But anusvāra is not seen in *Nadagiri–* A 54, *Nadutarā–* A 119, *Muchilida–* B 31 a, and *vadate* B 37.

For the cluster *ndr* see § 20(d).

In the case of *ndh* we find anusvāra in *paṭisaṁdhi* B 18, but not in *Kakusadha–* B 15, and *gadhakuṭi* B 34.

The cluster *nn*>*n* in *kinara–* B 54. It has become *ṁn* in *upaṁna–* (*utpanna–*) A 1.

The cluster *ny* initially becomes *n* in *nigodha-* (*nyagrodha–*) B 70.

The cluster *gn*>*g* (*gg*) in *Agirakhita–* A 23.

(e) Clusters with the nasal *m*: In the case of this nasal the anusvāra is mostly not represented.

For the cluster *mb* we have the following illustrations: *Bĭbikanadikaṭa* (*Bimbikā-*) A 21, A 22, *Kosabeyeka–* (*Kauśāmbeyikā–*) A 52, *Kosabakuṭi* (*Kauśāmba–*) B 33, *jabū* (*jambū*) B 74. The anusvāra is shown only in the case of *Alaṁbusā* B 31. In the case of cluster *mbh* we find that in a large number of instances the parallels for *stambha* do not show anusvāra. Thus we have *thabha–* A 6, A 7, A 25, A 27 etc. etc., while anusvāra is shown only in two cases: *thaṁbha–* A 71, A 98. Of these two A 71 seems to show anusvāra carefully in all words; cf. *aya–Paṁthakasa*, *thaṁbho*, *dānaṁ*. *Sabhadā* (*Sambhadrā*) B 29 also does not have anusvāra.

The cluster *mm* is once shown with and once without anusvāra: *–saṁmada–* (*sammada–*) B 27, but *samadaka–* B 68.

The cluster *mr*>*b* in Sk. *āmravat*(*a*)*–*>*Aboda–* B 69.

The cluster *tm*>*t* (*tt*) in *atanā* (*ātmanā*) A 112.

The cluster *dm* shows anaptyxis in *Padum*[*ā*]*vat*[*i*] (*Padmāvatī*) B 30.

The cluster *rm* is assimilated to *m*, mostly shown without anusvāra; cf. *dhama–* (*dharma–*) B 38, A 94, A 95, etc., *navakamika–* (*navakarmika–*) A 59. The anusvāra is shown in two instances: *silākaṁma–* (*śilākarma–*) A 1, and *Sudhaṁmā* (*Sudharmā*) B 21. The cluster *sm* initially becomes *s* in *susāna–* (*smaśāna–*) B 64. But in the abl. sg. term. it becomes *–mh–* (<*–smāt*); cf. *Moragirimhā* A 25.

Lastly the cluster *hm* is once shown as *mh* and once as *m* (*mm* ?): *Bramhadeva–* (*Brahmadeva–*) B 66 and *bramana–* (*brāhmaṇa–*) B 51.

b. Morphology

§25. Masculine and Neuter Nouns ending in *–a*.

(i) Nom. sg. mas. *–o*: *Kupiro* B 1, *yakho* B 1, B 3 etc., *thabho* A 6, A 7 etc., *saso* B 42 a, *dāno* (used as mas.) A 96.

–a: only once *chakama* B 77; but we have the regular form *chakamo* B 78.

–e: *pāsāde*[1] B 22. As this is the only form with *–e* ending it is obviously a mistake for *–o* ending.

(ii) Nom. sg. neut. *–aṁ*: The anusvāra at the end is preserved in a large majority of instances; cf. *dānaṁ* A 4, A 7 etc., *jātakaṁ* B 47, B 49 etc., *toraṇaṁ* A 2, *kāritaṁ* A 1, *turaṁ* B 27, *dhamachakaṁ* B 38, *yavamajhakiyaṁ* B 52.

[1] Barua-Sinha regard it as loc. sg. and change *Vejayaṁto* to *Vejayaṁte*.

–*a*: When the final anusvāra is sometimes not represented; cf. *dāna* A 5, A 6 etc., *jātaka* B 41, B 42 etc., *Jetavana* (acc. sg.) B 32, *kata* A 112, A 129, *toraṇa* A 129; *dān*[*ā*] A 49a is probably mistake for *dāna*(*ṁ*).

(iii) Inst. sg. –*eṇa*: *puteṇa* and *pauteṇa* A 1.

–*ena*: *Vāchhiputena* A 1 (as already remarked this is perhaps a mistake for –*puteṇa*), *koṭisaṁthatena* B 32.

(iv) Dat. sg. –*yā* (=*ya*): *aṭhāyā* (mistake for *aṭhāya*) A 108.

(v) Abl. sg. –*a*: This and the –*ā* endings are more common. *Karahakaṭa* A 6, A 7, A 8, *Nāsika* A 46, *Vedisa* A 33.

–*ā*: *Vedisā* A 30, A 32, A 34, A 35, *Pāṭaliputā* A 13, A 14, A 15.

–*ato*: This is not very frequent. *Vedisāto* A 31, *Baha*[*ḍa*]*to* A 50, and perhaps in........ *to* A 80 where the place name is missing.

(vi) Gen. sg. –*sa*: *Visadevasa* A 1, *Mitasa* A 101 etc., *Kasapasa* B 17, *Mahādevasa* B 81. It is clear that in the large majority of cases in which this ending occurs it stands for –(*a*)*ssa*. But in three or four instances we find the preceding vowel *a* lengthened, and if these readings are correct then we may assume here a slightly developed tendency to pronounce the gen. sg. ending as a single consonant with the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. *asavārikāsa* A 22, *Thupadāsāsa*[1] A 25, *bhadaṁtāsa* A 38, *Bhutārakhit*[*ā*]*sa* A 38.

(vii) Loc. sg. –*e*: This is more frequent. *raje* A 1, *Naḍode* B 70 etc., *pavate* B 73, B 74, *jātake* B 42a.

–*mi*(?): *Moragirami* A 26 (with the change of the base in *giri*– to *gira*–). But Lüders regards the form as a mistake for *Moragirima* or *Moragirimha*, the abl. sg. form.

tirami B 62. But Lüders regards *ra* a mistake in the eye-copy and reads it along with the following word as *timitimiṁgila*–.

(viii) Nom. pl. mas. –*ā*: *thabhā* A 25 etc., *de*[*v*]*ā* B 24.

(ix) Nom. pl. neut.-*āni*: *kāmāvacharasahasāni* B 26. For *dānā* A 49a cf. §5, II.

(x) Acc. pl. mas. –*e*: *sise* B 63.

(xi) Gen. pl. –*ănaṁ*: *Suganaṁ* A 1, *devānaṁ* B 27.

–*ăna*: *Sagāna* A 2, *dāyakana* A 16.

§26. Fem. Nouns ending in –*ā*.

(i) Nom. sg. –*ā*: *Chadā* B 2, *Chulakokā* B 11, *Alaṁbusā* B 31, *devatā* B 11, *Asaḍā* B 64.

–*a*: When the length of the final vowel is not marked. *devata* B 8, B 12, *Mahakoka* B 12, *Sudasana* B 10, *Idasālaguha* B 35, *Sivala* B 56, *chitupādasila* B 67.

(ii) Acc. sg. –*aṁ*: *utaraṁ* B 25, *dakhinaṁ* B 26, *purathima*(*ṁ*) B 24.

–*a*: With the absence of final anusvāra. *disa* B 24, B 25, B 26, *katha* B 73 (Sk. *kanthā*).

(iii) Abl. sg. –(*ă*)*yā*: *Purikāyā* A 18, A 20, *Purikayā* A 19.

–(*ă*)*ya*: *Purikāya* A 16, A 17, *Asitamasāya* A 36.

[1] Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha read *Thupadāsasa*.

(iv) Gen. sg. –(*ā*)*yā*: *kujarāyā* A 10, *Nāgadevāyā* A 11, *Samanāyā* A 12, *Sakaṭadevāyā* A 15.

–(*ā*)*ya*: When frequently *–yā* is shortened to *–ya*. *Nāgasenāya* A 14, *Sāmāya* A 20, *Anurādhāya* A 32, *–bhāriyāya* A 34, A 115, *Idadevāya* A 19, A 45, *Benākaṭikāya* A 49a, *Badhikaya* A 42, *Nagarikaya* A 43, *bhāriyaya* A 46, *Pusadevaya* A 120, *Nadutaraya* A 119.

–(*ā*)*ye*: *Nāgarakhitāye* A 4, *Nāgarikāye* A 44, *Ghosāye* A 117, *bhayaye* A 4, *Pusadataye* A 43, A 44, *Nāgaye* A 74, *Kamuchukaye* A 54b.

(v) Loc. sg. *–ya*: *Mahāsāmāyikāya* B 18.

§27. Mas. Nouns ending in *–i*.

(i) Nom. sg. *–i*: *bodhi* B 13, B 14 etc., *Kaḍariki* B 60.

(ii) Acc. sg. *–i*: The final anusvāra being not shown. *giri* B 75, *paṭisaṁdhi* B 18.

(iii) Inst. sg. *–na*: *Dhanabhūtina* A 1.

(iv) Abl. sg. *–mhā*: *Moragirimhā* A 25, A 27 etc.

(v) Gen. sg. *–no*: *Budhino* A 21, *gahapatino* A 21, *Sakamunino* B 23, *Nadagirino* A 54, [*Na*]*ṁdagirino* A 97.

–sa: We have only one illustration: *Dhanabhūtisa* A 3.

§28. Fem. Nouns ending in *–i*.

(i) Nom. sg. *–i*: *suchi* A 23 etc., *ūkraṁti* B 19, *Kosabak*[*u*]*ṭi* B 33, *gadhakuṭi* B 34, *sigālañati* B 64 (<*–jñapti*).

(ii) Abl. sg. *–mha*: *kuchhimha* B 62.

§29. Fem. Nouns ending in *–ī*.

(i) Nom. sg. *–i*: *yakhi* B 2, *yakhini* B 10, *Misakosi* B 28, *Padum*[*ā*]*vat*[*i*] B 30.

–ī: Only one instance with long ending. *devī* B 56. But all earlier editors read *devi*.

(ii) Abl. sg. *–ya*: *Kākaṁdiya* A 37.

(iii) Gen. sg. *–yā*: *bhikhuniyā* A 12, A 29, A 80, *Koḍiyāniyā* A 14, A 15, *Pārikiniyā* A. 49, *yakhiyā* A 116.

–ya: With the shortening of final *–ā*: *bhichhuniya* A 24, A 37, A 42, A 79, *bhikhuniya* A 52 (but perhaps we should read *–yā* here, because in all instances where *ksh*>(*k*)*kh*, we get *–yā* ending), *Vāsiṭhiya* A 35.

–ye: *bhichhuniye* A 43, A 74, A 75, A 76, A 77, A 78, *bhikhuniye* A 44 (this is again doubtful. In view of *ksh* being represented by (*k*)*kh* perhaps we have to read *bhikhuniyā*), *ko..dalākiye* A 127.

(*–yi*: *bhikhuniyi* A 11: but we are asked to read *bhikhuniyā*.)

§ 30. Mas. Nouns ending in *–ŭ*.

(i) Nom. sg. *–u*: *A*[*jā*]*tasat*[*u*] B 40.

(ii) Gen. sg. *–no*: *Punāvasuno* A 72. *Vesabhuṇā* B 14; but this is a mistake for *Vesabhuno*.

§ 31. Fem. Nouns ending in -*ū*.

(i) Nom. sg. *–ū*: *jabū* B 74.

–u: *vadhu* B 64.

§32. Mas. Nouns ending in *–ṛi.*

(i) Gen. sg. *–no*: *Ja[hira]natuno* A 50.

–u(?): *bhātu..* A 54a.

(ii) Gen. pl. *–na*: With the loss of final anusvāra. *m[ā]tāpituna* A 108.

§33. Fem. Nouns ending in *–ṛi.*

(i) Gen. sg. *–u*: *matu* A 18, A 28, *mātu* A 54b, A 120 (*māta* A 90b perhaps a mistake for *mātu*), *dhitu* A 42.

§34. Mas. and Fem. Nouns ending in consonants.

We find both the tendencies to derive the forms from their Sanskrit parallels or to change these bases to those ending in vowels.

(a) Mas. nouns in *–at.*

(i) Gen. sg. *–o*: *bhagavato* B 13, B 14, B 15 etc.

–sa: With the transference to *–a* declension, only in *Sirimasa* A 110.

(ii) Loc. sg. *–e*: *Himavate* B 79.

(b) Mas. nouns in *–an.*

(i) Nom. sg.: The forms of *rājan* are directly derived from Sanskrit. *rājā* B 39, B 56, *Nāgarājā* B 6, B 36, B 37. Once *Nāgarāja* B 31a. But we have the ending *–o* in *Suchilomo* B 9.

(ii) Inst. sg.: *atanā* A 112 comes from Sk. *ātmanā.*

(iii) Gen. sg.: The forms of *rājan* are again derived from Sanskrit. *răño* A 1, A 4. But the ending *–(n)o* is witnessed in *răjano* A 3, A 130.

(c) Mas. noun in *–it.*

(i) Nom. sg. *–i*: *Pasenaji* B 39.

(d) Mas. nouns in *–in.*

(i) Nom. sg. *–i*: *Dighatapasi* B 63, *Vijapi* B 61.

(ii) Gen. sg. *–(n)o*: *Vipasino*[1] B 13, *peṭakino* A 56, *aṁtevāsino* A 73.

–sa: With the change to vowel base. *Mahamukhisa* A 42.

(e) Mas. noun in *–ut.*

(i) Gen. sg. *–sa*: *Āgarajusa* A 1.

(f) Fem. noun in *–as.*

(i) Nom. sg. *–ā*: *achharā* B 28, B 30, B 31.

§35. Pronouns: We have only the forms of the relative pronoun *ya*: Nom. sg. mas. *yo* A 127, nom. sg. neut. *yaṁ* B 51.

§36. Numerals: Perhaps we have the nom. pl. neut. form of *tri* in *(t)ini* B 25. The other numerals are *chha* " six " B 26 and *sahasa* " thousand " B 26.

§37. Verb forms: We only get some forms of the present indicative, one form of Aorist, one form of absolutive, and some past passive participles.

(a) Present 3rd sg. indicative.

(i) active *–ti*: *deti* B 32, *dohati* B 73, *anusāsati* B 63, *dadati* B 75, *sāsani* (for *sāsati*) B 18.

(ii) middle *–te*: *vadate* B 37, *vaṁdate* B 40.

(b) Aorist 3rd. sg. *–si*: *avayesi* B 51.

(c) Absolutive *–tā*: *ketā* (<**krayitvā*) B 32.

(d) Past passive participles:

All these, except *dina* (i.e. *dinna*) for *data* (i.e. *datta*), are derived from their corresponding Sanskrit equivalents. *upaṁna–* (or *upaṁṇa–*?) A 1, *kata–* A 112,

[1] From *Vipaśyin.* Barua-Sinha derive it from *Vipaśchit–.* But in that case the form should be *Vipasisa.*

A 129, *vokata–* B 18, *saṁthata–* (<*saṁstṛita–?*) B 32, *gahuta–* (<*gṛihīta–?*) B 50, *māchita–* (for *mochita–*) B 62, *kārita–* (causal) A 1. Besides these, we get various participle forms in the proper names of persons, e.g. *guta* (<*gupta*) in *Arahaguta–* B 18, B 20, *Vasuguta–* B 62, *Sapaguta–* A 78, *Dhamaguta–* A 94, A 120; *rakhita—* (<*rakshita–*) in *Nāgarakhita–* A 4, A 54b, *Gorakhita–* A 46, *Agirakhita–* A 23 etc. etc.; *data–* (<*datta–*) in *Pusadata–* A 43, A 44, *Isidata–* A 86, but *dina–* only in *Isidina–* A 62; *bhuta–* (<*bhūta–*) in *Bhutaka–* A 8, *Bhuta–* A 77; *jāta* in *Jāta–* A 56 and *Sujata–* B 50; *viruḍa–* (<*virūḍha–*) in *Viruḍaka–* B 4; *ladha–* (<*labdha–*) in *Suladha–* A 22; *pālita-* in *Isipālita–* A 59; *dusita–* (<*dūshita–?*) B 75; *muta–* (<*mukta–*) in *Atimuta–* A 81; *visana–* (<*vishaṇṇa–?*) in *Avisana–* A 82, A 83.

c. Some important Suffixes

(1)–(*á*): *Anurādhā* A 32, *Alaṁbusā* B 31, *Asaḍā* B 64, *Asitamasā* A 36, *Idadevā* A 19, *Idasālaguha* B 35, *kachulā* A 115, *katha* B 73, *Koḍiyā* A 116, *Golā* A 49, *Ghosā* A 117, *Chadā* B 2, *Chāpadevā* A 34, *chitupādasila* B 67, *Chulakokā* B 11, *dakhina* B 26, *Diganagā* A 24, *disa* B 24-B 26, *devatā* B 8, B 11, B 12, *Nāgadevā* A 11, *Nāgasenā* A 14, *Nāgā* A 74, *Pusadevā* A 120, *Pusā* A 27, *Phagudevā* A 75, *bhayā* A 4, *bhāriyā* A 34, A 46, A 115, *Mitadevā* A 121, *Sakaṭadevā* A 15, *Sabhadā* B 29, *–sabhā* B 21, B 65, *Samanā* A 12, *Sāmā* A 20, *Sudasana* (for *–nā*) B 10, *Sudhaṁmā* B 21, *Sonā* A 123, *Somā* A 37.

(2) *–ī́*: *Kākaṁdī* A 37, *kuchhi* B 62, *kuṭi* B 33, B 34, *devī* B 56, *Misakosi* B 28, *yakhi* B 2, A 116, *Vāsiṭhi* A 35, *sigālañati* B 64.

(3) *–i*<*–vin*: *Dighatapasi* B 63.

(4) *–i*<*–it*: *Pasenaji* B 39.

(5) *–i*<*–in*: *aṁtevāsi* A 73, *Kaḍariki* B 60, *peṭaki* A 56, *Mahāmukhi* A 42, *Vijapi* B 61, *Vipasi* B 13.

(6) *–ikă̄*:

(a) in place names:
Kosabeyekā A 52, *Chudaṭhīlikā* A 10, *Dabhinikā* A 42, *Năgarikā* A 43, A 44, *Naṁdinagarikā* A 45, *Parakaṭikā* A 48, *Purikā* A 16-A 20.

(b) in personal names:
Anādhapeḍika B 32, *Avāsikā* A 126, *Ujhikā* (?) A 114, *Badhikā* (?) A 42.

(c) in ecclesiastical designations:
navakamika A 59, A 60 (?), *Paṁchanekāyika* A 57, *Mahāsāmāyikā* B 18, *sutaṁtika* A 51.

(d) in professional designation:
asavārika A 22.

(7) *–ita* (*–iṭa*): *Gaṁgita* B 5, *yami*[*ṭa*] A 103.

(8) *–iyă̄*:

(a) in jātaka titles:
isisiṁgiya B 53, *chhadaṁtiya* B 49, *bhisaharaniya* B 58, *maghādeviya* B 57, *mugaphakiya* B 59, *yavamajhakiya* B 52, *Vitura-Punakiya* B 65.

(b) in place names:
ko. .dalākiya A 127, *Khujatidukiya* A 38, *Chikulaniya* A 39, *Therākūṭiya* A 41, *Bhogavaḍhaniya* A 51, *Venuvagāmiyā* A 52.

(9) *–ilă̄*: *Kanhila* A 63, *Ghāṭila* A 28, *Nāgilā* A 29, *Mahila* (?) A 65, *yakhila* A 105, *Saghila* A 109.

(10) *-kă*:

(a) in personal names:

Ajakālaka B 3, *Apikinaka* A 67, *Janaka* B 56, *Paṁthaka* A 71, *Pusaka* A 47, *Bhutaka* A 8, *Valaka* A 61, *Vasuka* A 46, *Vijitaka* A 104, *Viruḍaka* B 4, *Veḍuka* B 72, *Satika* A 132, *Samaka* A 66, *Samika* A 6, A 41, *Sāmaka* A 73, *Seṭaka* A 18.

(b) in place names:

Utaragidhika A 7, *Chuladhaka* A 17, *Paḍelaka* A 47, *Bhojakaṭakă* A 23, A 24, *Selapuraka* A 54, *Kamuchuka* B 54b.

(c) as diminutives or possessives:

adhirajaka A 130, *arāmaka* B 72, *jātaka* (passim), *tikoṭika* B 78, *dāyaka* A 16, *bahuhathika* B 70, B 71, *bhatudesaka* A 17, *mānavaka* B 66, *migasamadaka* B 68.

(11) *-ta* (or *-ita*): usual p.p.p. suffix (§ 37, d).

Agirakhita A 23, *Atimuta* A 81, *Isidata* A 86, *kata* A 112, *kārita* A 1, *Jāta* A 56, *Dusita* B 75, *saṁthata* B 32, *Sujata* B 50, *Suladha* A 22.

-tā: *Isirakhitā* A 53, *Pusadatā* A 43, A 44, *Bhutā* A 77, *Sapagutā* A 78, *Samidatā* A 122.

(12) *-ti*: *ūkraṁti* B 19, *Dhanabhūti* A 1, A 3,

(13) *-na* (§ 37, d): *Avisana* (?) A 82, A 83, *Isidina* A 62, *upaṁna* A 14, *dāna* (passim).

(14) *-na* (?): *Chulana* A 91, *Chekulana* A 40.

(15) *-nĭ*: *Koḍiyāni* A 14, A 15, *Pārikinī* (?) A 49, *bhikhunī* and *bhichhunī* (passim), *yakhini* B 10.

(16) *-mat*>*-ma* (*-mā*): *Ayamā* A 33, *Sirima* A 110, *Sirimā* B 8, A 48.

(17) *-vat(a)*: *bhagavat* (for references see index), *Himavata* B 79.

-vati: *Padumāvati* B 30.

III. DATE AND PALAEOGRAPHY

The inscription A 1 on a pillar of the eastern gateway (*toraṇa*) records that this gateway with its carvings was caused to be made by *Dhanabhūti*, son of Āgaraju (*Aṅgāradyut*) and grandson of king *Visadeva* (*Viśvadeva*) during the reign of the Sugas (*Śuṅgas*). Moreover, from the inscription A 3, mentioning a gift of prince Vādhapāla (*Vyādhapāla*), the son of 'king' Dhanabhūti, it results that the donor Dhanabhūti was a king (*rājan*) like his grandfather (and probably also his father[1]). The text of the fragmentary inscription A 2 on a Batanmāra Toraṇa pillar was probably the same as that of A 1, and a third Toraṇa pillar inscription (A 129) of somewhat similar wording is in existence; but the aksharas *hena* in line 1 do not fit in with one of the names in A 1, and it remains very doubtful whether king Dhanabhūti also erected this gateway. Two of the gateways were evidently his donation.

King Dhanabhūti, dating his inscriptions in the Śuṅga reign, is supposed by Bühler and others to have been a feudatory of that dynasty[2]. His connection with some donor of the name Dhanabhūti in a Mathurā inscription (List No. 125), maintained by Cunningham[3], is, however, rejected by Lüders in his revision of the Mathurā inscripition given below; see supplement to our Bhārhut inscription No. A 1. So the location of king Dhanabhūti's possessions remains inevident, and the contents of our inscriptions yield no more than a somewhat vague date for the erection of two of the Bhārhut gateways in the Śuṅga reign, i.e. between circa 184 to 72 B.C.

For further elucidation on the chronological position of the Bhārhut inscriptions we have to consider their palaeography. To the experts of old their similarity with the inscriptions of Aśoka from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. was striking. Cunningham says: " The alphabetical characters of the inscriptions are precisely the same as those of Aśoka's time on the Sānchi Stūpa, and of the other undoubted records of Aśoka on rocks and pillars "[4], and elsewhere: " I do not wish to fix upon any exact date, and I am content with recording my opinion that the alphabetical characters of the Bharhut inscriptions are certainly not later than B.C. 200 "[5]. Bühler's book on Indian Palaeography[6] displays great advance in the classification of the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions. He distinguishes an old Maurya type from a younger Maurya and from a Śuṅga type. To the Śuṅga type he attributes the Bhārhut Toraṇa inscriptions, found by him to be apparently younger than the bulk of the rail inscriptions. The latter he considers to represent the old Maurya type. On the whole he gives 150 B.C. as date for Bhārhut in his table.

Some differences even in workmanship between the sculptures of the Toraṇas on the one hand and of the pillars and bars of the railing (*vedikā*) on the other hand had already been observed by Cunningham. According to him the sculptured statues on the balusters of the eastern gateway were " much superior in artistic design and execution to those of the railing pillars ". These balusters of the Toraṇa he found further remarkable as having

[1] The donor in the inscription A 4 is Nāgarakhitā (*Nāgarakshitā*), the wife of a king whose name with exception of the last akshara *ka* is lost. Hultzsch was of the opinion that the name should be reconstructed as Dhanabhūti. This suggestion is tempting, but against the reading of the last akshara.

[2] In the fragmentary inscription A 130 a king occurs who seems to be designated as *adhirāja*.

[3] *StBh.*, pp. 15 ff.; Barua, *Barh.*, I, p. 29 says: " Dhanabhūti seems to have been a king of the Mathurā region ".

[4] *StBh.*, p. 127.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[6] *Indische Palaeographie* (1896), p. 32.

single Kharoshṭhī letters—called ' Arian letters ' by him—engraved on their bases or capitals as marks of the sculptors. " The letters found ", he says, " are *p*, *s*, *a* and *b*, of which the first three occur twice. I think it probable that these letters may be numerals, the initials of the words pānch=5, sāt=7, āth=8, and ba=2 ".[1]



p a b a s

On the other hand not less than 27 marks, discovered on any portions of the railing, were all in Brāhmī letters. Cunningham came to the conclusion that Western artists were employed by king Dhanabhūti at the gateways, "while the smaller gifts of pillars and rails were executed by the local artists".[2]

It is now generally believed that the Bhārhut stūpa with its railing and gateways was built in successive stages, and that its history extends over more than a century. The mound will have existed in the third century B.C., as it was built of large size bricks (12×12×3,5 inches) which are typical for the Maurya age. For some time it may have been surrounded by a wooden fence and decorated with wooden gateways. The old wooden models of the railing and gateways, however, became later on, towards the end of the second century B.C., replaced by stone work[3]. Barua imagines three stages in the execution of the stone work:[4] 1. In the first stage " the mound was enclosed by a railing of rough-hewn stone, with four quadrants, four entrances, a square coping with certain ornamentation on its outer face, and some statues of demigods and demigoddesses on terminus pillars ". 2. " In the second stage, when the eastern terminus pillar of S. E. Quadrant was recorded to be the Barhut first pillar[5],...... some alterations were made...... resulting in the replacement of the right terminus pillar in each quadrant by one connected with a return, added at the time, and bearing a lion-statue guarding the approach...... In this stage a few other statues of demigods and demigoddesses were carved on three out of four right terminus pillars in the quadrants...... The artists employed hailed all from localities where Brāhmī was the current script ". 3. " The third stage was reached...... when king Dhanabhūti erected the gateways. He employed some artists, who hailed from a north-western region where Kharoshṭhī was the current script, to do the work...... These artists must have also worked on the great railing, either fashioning some of the pillars and rail-bars, or carving new sculptures, or inserting new pillars and rails, in short, giving a finishing touch to the work of repair or decoration ". Barua dates the three stages as follows[6]: " The first stage is Mauryan but not necessarily Aśokan; it is probably post-Aśokan. The second or middle stage must be dated as early as 150 B.C. and the third or final as late as 100 B.C., half a century being sufficient, upon the whole, for the development of the Barhut plastic art from the first[5] to the Prasenajit pillar "[7]. Giving these dates, Barua keeps in line with Foucher who wrote:[8] " we feel certain that towards the end of the second century the final touch must have been given to the decoration of the stūpa, commenced, no doubt, during the third ".

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[1] L.c., p. 8, and note 2.

[2] It may be recalled that, as stated above p. XI (§ 12, c.), the cerebral nasal (*ṇ*) appears only in the gateway inscriptions A 1 and A 2.

[3] Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917, p. 34.

[4] *Barh.*, I, pp. 32 ff.

[5] Cf. No. A 34.

[6] *Barh.*, I, p. 36.

[7] Cf. No. B 26-31, B 36-39, B 60-61, B 70-72, A 62.

[8] L.c., p. 34.

To the discussion, how to arrange the early Brāhmī inscriptions chronologically, an impetus was given at his time by Ramaprasad Chanda in ' Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas of Sanchi '[1]. Chanda proposed the following order of inscriptions:[2]

1. Edicts of Aśoka.
2. Nāgārjuni Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.
3. Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions.
4. (a) Inscriptions on the railings of Stūpa I at Sāñchī.
   (b) Inscriptions on the railings of Stūpa II at Sāñchī.
   (c) Bhārhut railing inscriptions.
   (d) Inscriptions on the remnants of the old Bodh-Gayā railing.
5. (a) Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of the year 12 after the inscription of mahārāja Bhāgavata.
   (b) Inscription of Nāyanikā, widow of the Andhra king Sātakaṇi I in the Nānāghāt cave.
   (c) Bhārhut toraṇa (gateway) inscription.
6. Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.
7. Sāñchī toraṇa inscriptions.
8. Inscriptions of the time of Śoḍāsa.

Chanda's researches form the basis of later inquiries in Bhārhut inscriptions by Barua and Sinha[3] and by N. G. Majumdar.[4]

Barua and Sinha print and discuss three lists of letters: A. gateway inscriptions "engraved...... by Western artists whose script was Kharoshṭhī ", B. coping inscriptions "engraved......by different sculptors apparently of the same period", and C. rail-pillar, rail-bar, rail-panel and rail-medallion inscriptions, engraved at different times...... by different artists (masons and sculptors) of different localities, where the Brāhmī was or was not the prevalent script ". Obviously list A contains the younger type of letters and B the older, while in C both types are mixed. N. G. Majumdar, inquiring into the chronology of early Brāhmī inscriptions, again distinguishes two layers of Bhārhut inscriptions. In his edition of Sāñchī inscriptions, contributed to the monumental, but somewhat bulky work of Marshall and Foucher on Sāñchī in three volumes, he gives a clear survey of the palaeographical position and a revised, and in our opinion more correct, date for the Bhārhut inscriptions, viz. circa 125-75 B.C. instead of 150-100 B.C. His results with respect to the older Bhārhut inscriptions he states(Vol. I, pp. 270f.), after having fixed the last quarter of the second century B.C. as the date of the railing of Stūpa 2 at Sāñchī, in the following words: " Judging from palaeography, the major portion of the balustrade of the stūpa of Bharhut would also appear to belong to this period ", and again: " The inscriptions of Stūpa 2, together with those on the Bharhut railing and the Bhilsa pillar[5], represent therefore the concluding phase of group 2 of our table of alphabets[6] (circa 125-100 B.C.)".

The younger inscriptions engraved on a gateway pillar "and some portions of its railing...... which appear to have been later additions " he attributes to a different cate-

[1] *MASI.*, I, 1919.

[2] L.c., pp. 14-15, cf. *BI.*, pp. 108 f.

[3] *BI.*, pp. 103-112.

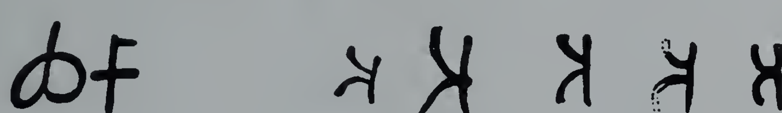
[4] Marshall, Sir John, and Alfred Foucher: *The Monuments of Sāñchī.* With the texts of inscriptions edited, translated and annotated by N. G. Majumdar, Calcutta: Manager of Publications, 1940, 3 vols.

[5] Refers to the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar. Dr. D. C. Sircar is of the opinion that the Besnagar epitaph of Heliodorus "cannot be much earlier than the end of the second century B. C." [*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, Vol. II (1951), p. 195].

[6] *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. III, end.

gory and has them classed " with certain epigraphs on the Bodh-Gayā railing, e.g. those of the time of Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra and with the Mathurā inscriptions of Utaradāsaka and king Vishṇumitra ". This group, according to him, belongs to about 100-75 B.C.

We look with some reserve at the attempts to classify individual Bhārhut inscriptions as earlier, and others as later, resting upon the shape of one or two test letters only. Certainly, a process of gradual transformation of aksharas in early Brāhmī can be stated, and the general trend is clear enough. However, as Barua says[1], " certain forms became stereotyped at a particular period of time as an outcome of a very complex process, of the action and reaction of various factors. The shape of letters depends on the local style, the personal habit and temperament, the nature of space and material, the position of the scribe, the nature of the tool, and the rest ". Sometimes we find slightly different forms of test letters side by side in the same inscription, or in inscriptions doubtlessly belonging to the same time. In other cases advanced types of one letter occur together with conservative ones of another. So in the inscription B 26 (Plate XVIII) an advanced *chha* of nearly 'butterfly' type stands by the side of an old shaped *kā*, and in B 28- B 31 (Plate XVIII), in the words *alaṁbusā* and *achharā*, the letter *a* is written each time in a somewhat different shape, although the inscriptions are found on one and the same sculpture and refer to the same representation. Majumdar says, after discussing the palaeographically late features of some letters of the



B26 B28 B29 B30 B31 B31

ground balustrade inscriptions of stūpa I in Sāñchī: "The parts of the balustrade where these inscriptions occur must undoubtedly have been later insertions, due to subsequent additions and repairs, and they have no bearing on the date of the balustrade as a whole"[2].

It seems wise, not to decide in such cases without allowing some margin for the habits of the individual scribes, and to take into consideration, besides palaeography, any other evidence that might be available.

The gradual change in the form of some test letters in Bhārhut is shown in the following synopsis:

Regarding letter *a*: In the inscriptions of Aśoka the two left arms of the letter *a* generally meet at a point. Another type, more rare, has a gap between the arms, and this type is a characteristic of the post-Aśokan writing.

Letter *ka*: The old type is a cross of which the horizontal and the vertical intercross each other in the middle. The later type has a shorter horizontal, crossing higher up, and looks like a hanging sword, or a dagger.

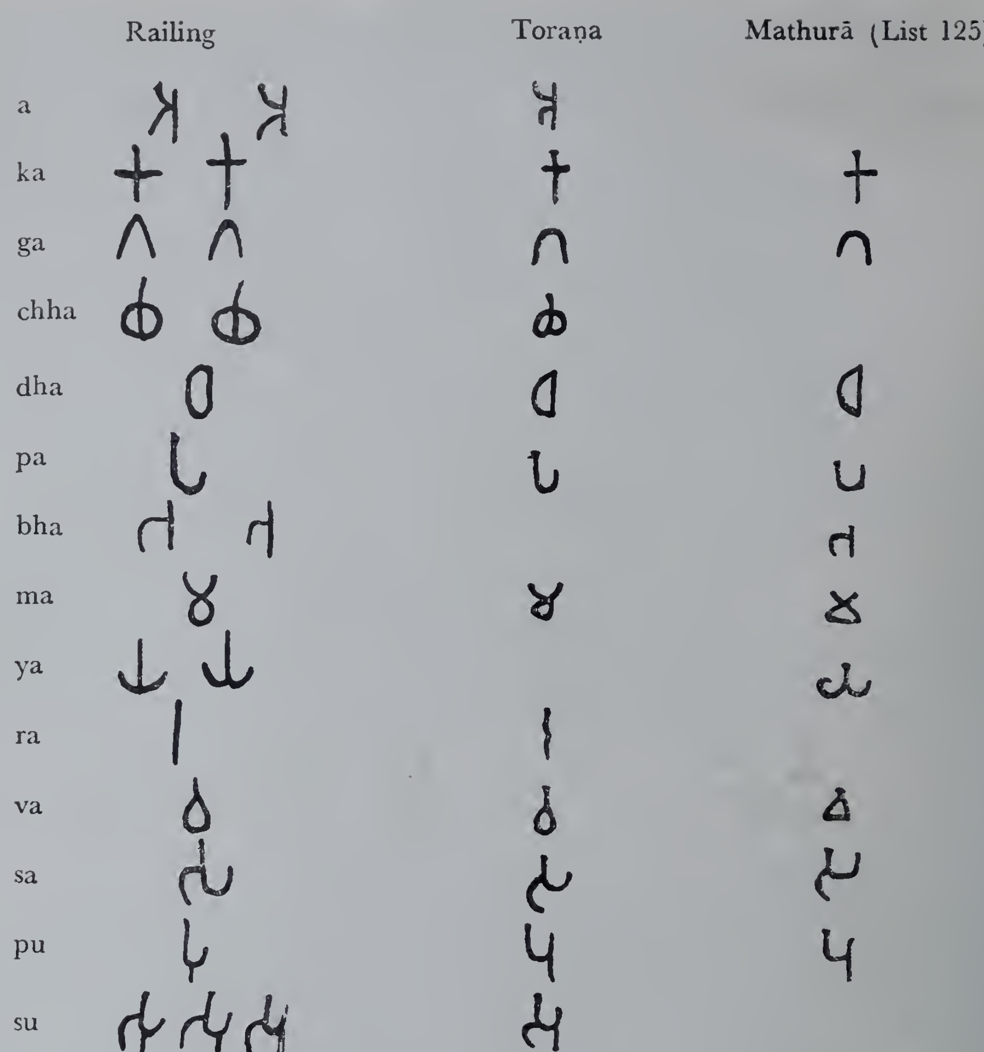
Letter *ga:* In the old type the arms form a sharp angle at the top; the later type has a markedly rounded top instead of the angle.

Letter *chha*: The old types show nearly a circle bisected by a vertical. Then the corpus becomes more elliptical, and finally it looks like a butterfly with two loops.

Letter *dha*: In the inscriptions of Aśoka this letter is of the shape of the Roman D, the vertical stroke appearing to the left. In the post-Aśokan writing the vertical stroke is found to the right, and the form of the letter is a reversed one.

Letter *pa*: In later times the right vertical is heightened, and the left and right verticals are nearly equalized.

[1] *BI.*, p. 110.
[2] *Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 268.



Letter *bha:* In the old type the right vertical of the letter is of equal length with the left one; later on the lower part of the right vertical is elongated.

Letter *ma*: In later times a tendency towards angularization is obvious.

Letter *ya*: The old type is that of a vertical standing upon a horizontal crescent, sometimes high-curved. Later on the letter resembles an anchor.

Letter *ra*: The old type is a straight vertical stroke with equally thick ends; later on the upper end gains in the thickness, and the letter looks like the blade of a sword. An old variation has the vertical stroke curved like a corkscrew.

Letter *va*: As in the letter *ma* a tendency towards angularization is obvious in later times.

Letter *sa:* In the younger type, as with the letter *pa*, the right vertical stroke is lengthened and nearly equalized to the left one.

Letters *pu* and *su*: In the earlier type the *u*—mark is applied towards the middle part of the letter, in the later type in continuation of the right vertical.

REFERENCES OF INSCRIPTIONS TO PLATES

The inscriptions are reproduced from estampages with the exception of those marked * or †.

*—means: from eye-copy, †—photographed from the stone, ‡—from estampage and photographed from stone.

	Plate		Plate		Plate		Plate
A 1	I	A 45	VII	A 86	XII	A 129	XXVI*
A 2	XXIII*	A 46	XXIV*	A 87	XII	A 130	XXVI*
A 3	XXIII*	A 47	XXIV*	A 87a	XXVIII	A 131	XXVI*
A 4	II	A 48	XXIV*	A 88	XII	A 132	XXVI*
A 5	II	A 49	XXIV*	A 89	XXV*	A 133	XXVI*
A 6	II	A 49a	XXXIX	A 90ab	XII	A 134	XXVI*
A 7	XXIII*	A 50	VII	A 91	XII	A 135	XXVI*
A 8	II	A 51	VIII	A 92	XII	A 136	XV
A 9	XXIV*	A 52	XXIV*	A 93	XIII		
A 10	II	A 53	VIII	A 94	XIII	B 1	XVI
A 11	II	A 54	XXIV*	A 95	XIII	B 2	XVI
A 12	III	A 54a	XXVIII	A 96	XIII	B 3	XVI
A 13	III	A 54b	XXVII	A 97	XXV*	B 4	XVI
A 14	III	A 55	VIII	A 98	XIII	B 5	XVI
A 15	III	A 56	VIII	A 99	XIII	B 6	XVI
A 16	III	A 57	VIII	A 100	XIII	B 7	XVI
A 17	XXIV*	A 58	IX	A 101	XIII	B 8	XVI
A 18	III	A 59	IX	A 102	XIV	B 9	XVI
A 19	IV	A 60	IX†	A 103	XXV*	B 10	XVI
A 20	IV	A 61	IX	A 104	XXV*	B 11	XVI
A 21	IV	A 62	IX	A 105	XIV	B 12	XVI*
A 22	IV	A 63	XXV*	A 106	XIV	B 13	V
A 23	IV	A 64	IX	A 107	XXV*	B 14	XVII
A 24	IV	A 65	IX	A 108	XIV	B 15	XVII
A 25	V	A 66	IX	A 109	XIV	B 16	XVII
A 26	XXIV*	A 67	X	A 110	XIV	B 17	XVII
A 27	V	A 68	X	A 111	XIV	B 18	XVII
A 28	V	A 69	XXV*	A 112	XIV†	B 19	XVII
A 29	V	A 70	X	A 113	XXV†	B 20	XVIII†
A 30	V	A 71	X	A 114	XV	B 21	XVIII
A 31	V	A 72	X	A 115	XXV†	B 22	XVIII
A 32	VI	A 73	X	A 116	XV	B 23	XVIII‡
A 33	XXIV*	A 74	XI	A 117	XIV	B 24	XVIII*
A 34	VI	A 75	XI	A 118	XV	B 25	XVIII*
A 35	XXIV*	A 76	XI	A 119	XV	B 26	XVIII
A 36	XXIV*	A 77	XI	A 120	XV	B 27	XVIII
A 37	VI	A 78	XXV*	A 121	XV	B 28	XVIII
A 38	VI	A 79	XI	A 122	XV	B 29	XVIII
A 39	VI	A 80	XI	A 123	XV	B 30	XVIII
A 40	VII	A 81	XI	A 124	XXV*	B 31	XVIII
A 41	VII	A 82	XI	A 125	XXV*	B 31a	XXXIX
A 42	VII	A 83	XII	A 126	XXVI*	B 32	XIX†
A 43	XXIV*	A 84	XII	A 127	XXVI*	B 33	XIX
A 44	XXVIII	A 85	XII	A 128	XXVI*	B 34	XIX†

	Plate		Plate		Plate		Plate
B 35	XIX	B 47	XIII	B 60	XXI	B 73	XXII
B 36	XIX	B 48	XX	B 61	XXI	B 74	XXIII
B 37	XIX	B 49	VI	B 62	XXI*	B 75	XXIII*
B 38	XIX	B 50	XX	B 63	XXI	B 76	XXIII*
B 39	XIX	B 51	XX†	B 64	XXI	B 77	XXIII*
B 40	XIX*	B 52	XX	B 65	XXI	B 78	XXIII
B 41	XIX*, XL	B 53	XX	B 66	XXII	B 79	XXIII
B 42	XIX	B 54	XX	B 67	XXII	B 80	XXIII*
B 42a	XLI	B 55	XX	B 68	XXII	B 81	XXIII*
B 43	XIX‡	B 56	XXI‡	B 69	XXII	B 82	XXIII†
B 44	XX	B 57	XXI†	B 70	XXII		
B 45	XX†	B 58	XXI†	B 71	XXII		
B 46	XX	B 59	XXI	B 72	XXII		

LOCATION OF BHĀRHUT INSCRIPTIONS

as described by General Cunningham[1]

I. Inscriptions on pillars of gateways (*toraṇa*).
   A1 (687), A 2 (688), A 129 (689).

II. Inscriptions on coping stones (*uṣṇīṣa*).
   (I) A 70 (690)
   (II) B 57 (691), B 63 (692), B 69 (693), B 50 (694), B 42 (695), B 77 (696),
   (III) B 64 (697),
   (IV) B 48 (698), B 68 (699),
   (V) B 41 (700), B 54 (701), B 65 (702),
   (VI) B 46 (703), B 45 (704),
   (VII) A 5 (705), B 58 (706), B 73 (707), B 74 (708),
   (VIII) B 56 (709), B 67 (710), B 75 (711).

III. Inscriptions on pillars (*stambha*) of railing and returns (gates).
   (a) *S. E. Quadrant*
      (P 11) A 34 (712),
      (P 12) A 38 (713), B 14 (714),
      (P 13) A 68 (715),
      (P 17) A 71 (716), B 11 (717),
      (P 15) A 42 (718),
      (P 18) A 14 (719),
      (P ?) A 12 (720),
      (M 5) A 50 (721), B 16 (722),
      (P 21, M 2) A 24 (723), B 43 (724),
      (P 6) A 21 (725),
      (P 10) B 7 (726), A 94 (727),
      (P 26) A 22 (728),
      (P 14) A 98 (729), B 47 (730), B 32 (731), B 33 (732), B 34 (733),
      (P 1) A 95 (734), B 6 (735), B 4 (736), B 5 (737).
   (b) *S. Return*
      (P 29) A 62 (738), B 23 (739), B 24 (740), B 25 (741), B 26 (742), B 27 (743), B 28 (744), B 29 (745), B 30 (746), B 31 (747), B 60 (748), B 61 (749), B 38 (750), B 39 (751), B 36 (752), B 37 (753), B 71 (754), B 70 (755), B 72 (756), A 136 (757).
   (c) *S. W. Quadrant*
      (P ?) A 123 (758),
      (M 7) A 40 (759), B 17 (760),
      (P 9) A 74 (761),
      (P 23) A 61 (762),
      (P 27) A 8 (763),
      (P ?) A 52 (764),
      (M 10) B 78 (765),
      (P 30) A 65 (766),
      (P 25) A 6 (767),
      (P 2) A 66 (768), B 52 (769),
      (P 16) B 8 (770), B 9 (771), A 80 (772).
   (d) *W. Return*
      (P 3) A 59 (773), B 40 (774), B 21 (775), B 22 (776), B 18 (777).
   (e) *N. W. Quadrant*
      (P 8) A 29 (778), B 13 (779),
      (P 20) A 30 (780),

[1] A 1, B 1 etc. refer to our treatment of the inscriptions below. Group A consists of donative inscriptions, group B of inscriptions describing the sculptural representations. The numbers given in brackets are the corresponding ones on Lüders' '*List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*'. The arrangement in the *List* follows the order given by Cunningham in *StBh.*

displaced B 76 (781=791), (M ?) A 16 (782), B 15 (783), (M 9) A 32 (784), B 49 (785), (P 31) A 39 (789), B 10 (790), (P 5) A 58 (792), B 2 (793), B 1 (794), B 3 (795).

(f) *N. Return*

(P 28) B 55 (786), A 60 (787), B 66 (788).

(g) *N. E. Quadrant*

(P 22) A 27 (796), (P 19) A 51 (797), (P 4) A 25 (798), (?) A 46 (799), (P 7) A 73 (800), B 19 (801), B 53 (802).

(h) *Displaced Batanmāra*

A 124 (803), A 54 (804), B 35 (805), A 43 (806), B 59 (807), A 26 (808), A 7 (809).

(i) *Displaced Pataora*

B 51 (810), B 12 (811), A 17 (812), A 33 (813), B 20 (814).

IV. Inscriptions on rail-bars (*sūci*).

(a) *S. E. Quadrant*

A 78 (815), A 15 (816), A 37 (817), A 13 (818), A 11 (819), A 10 (820), A 120 (821), A 114 (822), A 118 (823), A 81 (824), B 44 (825), A 119 (826).

(b) *S. Return*

A 102 (827), A 84 (828), A 85 (829), A 86 (830), A 72 (831), A 89 (832), A 63 (833).

(c) *S. W. Quadrant*

A 93 (834), A 31 (835), A 49 (836).

(d) *Inscriptions on displaced rail-bars and on fragments*

A 19 (837), A 18 (838), A 20 (839), A 76 (840), A 77 (841), A 67 (842), A 109 (843), A 108 (844), A 96 (845), A 105 (846), A 101 (847), A 88 (848), A 110 (849), A 64 (850), A 79 (851), A 45 (852), A 90 (853), A 115 (854), A 92 (855), A 56 (856), A 55 (857), A 41 (858), A 53 (859), A 28 (860), A 23 (861), A 122 (862), A 91 (863), A 82 (864), A 83 (865), A 106 (866), A 57 (867), A 87 (868), A 3 (869), A 75 (870), A 116 (871), A 117 (872), A 103 (873), A 100 (874), A 121 (875), A 47 (876), A 36 (877), A 48 (878), A 104 (879), A 112 (880), B 62 (881), A 4 (882), A 99 (883), B 79 (884), A 35 (885), A 69 (886), A 126 (887), A 131 (888), A 128 (889), A 132 (890), A 9 (891), A 130 (892), A 113 (893), A 134 (894), A 107 (895), A 135 (896), B 80 (897), A 97 (898), A 125 (899), A 133 (900), B 75 (901), B 81 (902), A 127 (903), B 82 (903a).

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

PART A

DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS

(a) FORMAL ASPECT

In comparison with the later donative inscriptions, the wording of the Bhārhut inscriptions is simple. In its shortest and very common form the inscription mentions only the name of the donor, put in the genitive, followed by the word *dānaṁ* "gift".[1] In about forty cases the object of the donation is specified as *thabho* (*thaṁbho*),[2] *thabhā*,[3] *suchi*,[4] *bodhichaka* (A 106), *ṭanachakamapari*[*repo*] (A 127). Usually the word *dānaṁ* comes after the object of gift, but the reverse order of words is found in not less than twelve cases.[5] In one inscription (A 50) the word *dānaṁ* is obviously to be understood, but the writer did not think it necessary to inscribe it.[6] Whereas in most cases particulars regarding the native place, profession etc. of the donors are given *before* the word *dānaṁ*, in four inscriptions we find a word or two added *after* it, referring to the native place (A 39) or the personal relationship (A 46, A 90) of the donor. In A 76 the female donor is characterised as a nun (*bhichhunī*) *after* the word *dānaṁ*. Normally the donations are made by individuals obviously for their own spiritual welfare. In one case (A 108), however, it is specially mentioned that the gift was made for the benefit of the parents of the donor (*mātāpituna aṭhāyā*). In A 5, the donation does not come from an individual donor but from the community of the town Karahakaṭa. It was probably collected by subscription. Similarly in A 16 the gift is attributed to a group of donors from Purikā.[7] Normally it is to be presupposed that only the cost of the objects given was borne by the various donors; but in one case (A 112), if the interpretation given below is correct, the inscription would mean that the donor himself had carved the relief besides paying the cost of the stone. In A 1, special reference is made to the stone-work (carving) added to the *toraṇa* as decoration.

(b) CONTENTS

The donors mentioned in the 136 Bhārhut inscriptions of our group A[8] include both the men and women who lead the worldly life and those that have renounced it. Thus on the one hand we have about 58 gifts from laymen[9] and about 36 from laywomen,[10] whereas

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[1] In about eight cases the anusvāra is omitted. Once, in A 96, the word is used in the masculine form *dāno* which, according to Lüders, is probably a clerical error (as well as *dān*[*ā*] A 49a).

[2] A 6, A 7, A 8, A 39, A 40, A 46, A 50, A 54, A 58, A 61, A 65, A 66, A 68, A 71, A 73, A 80, A 87a, A 94, A 98. In A 34 it is mentioned that the pillar donated is the first one (*paṭhamathabho*).

[3] A 25, A 27, A 29, A 123, A 124.

[4] A 23, A 56, A 72, A 87, A 89, A 96, A 101, A 104, A 105, A 109, A 111, A 118, A 119.

[5] Cf. *dānaṁ* or *dāna thabho* A 6, A 58, A 61, A 94; *dānaṁ thabhā* A 25, A 27, A 29, A 123; *dānaṁ* or *dāna suchi* A 109, A 118, A 119; *dana ṭanachakamapari*[*repo*] A 127.

[6] The word *dānaṁ* is missing also in A 3, A 9, A 11, A 35, A 43, A 44. But these inscriptions seem to be incomplete.

[7] In Sāñchī, gifts have been made by villages, or by particular sects or guilds having their residence in Vediśā or Ujenī (Ujjayinī).

[8] Four newly recovered inscriptions (A 49a, A 54a, A 54b, A 87a) have to be added.

[9] A 1 - A 3, A 6, A 7, A 13, A 21 - A 23, A 25, A 26, A 30, A 31, A 36, A 40, A 47, A 50, A 54a, A 54 b, A 55, A 81 - A 113, A 129(?), A 130(?), A 132, A 133(?).

[10] A 4, A 9, A 10, A 14, A 15, A 18, A 19, A 20, A 27, A 28, A 32 - A 35, A 45, A 46, A 48, A 49, A 49a, A 53, A 114 - A 128, A 134(?).

on the other hand there are 25 donations by monks[1] and 16 by nuns.[2] It is perhaps striking to find monks and nuns making donations, as they were forbidden to own any personal property besides some ordinary requisites. Probably we have to suppose that they collected the money required for some pious purpose by begging it from their relatives or acquaintances. It is, however, never stated in Bhārh. as in Jain inscriptions from Mathurā, that the dedication was made by a layman at the request of some clergyman. The wording of the Bhārh. inscriptions refers to the Buddhist clergyman in such a way, as if he himself had made the donation.

In some inscriptions only the names of the donors are mentioned, while in the others we find details regarding:

(I) the places they come from,
(II) the family (*gotra*) or tribe they belong to, or the relationship they have to some other person,
(III) the professions they follow, and
(IV) the ecclesiastical titles they bear (in case of monks).

The places from where the donors come are mentioned in 52 cases. Several of these place-names occur more than once, for instance, *Vedisa* (six times), *Karahakaṭa* (five times), *Purikā* (five times), *Moragiri* (five times), *Chudathīla* (thrice), *Pāṭaliputa* (thrice), *Bibikānadikaṭa* (twice), *Bhojakaṭa* (twice), *Chikulana* (=*Chekulana*, twice), *Nagara* (twice). The other place-names occur only once, see the treatment of place-names below p. 6 f.

The donors mentioned in A 1-4 and in A 130(?) are members of the royal family of king Dhanabhūti who apparently was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. In A 1, Dhanabhūti is called the grandson of 'king' Visadeva. In A 3, he himself is called king (*rāja*) and his son Vādhapāla is styled ' prince ' (*kumāra*). In A 4, a female donor of the name Nāgarakhitā is mentioned as the wife of a ' king ' whose name is lost. A 130 refers to a ' king ' and a ' supreme king ' (*adhirāja*) whose name again has not been preserved. The historical bearing of these inscriptions is discussed under A 1.

The family (*gotra*) of a female donor is given in A 35 as *Vāsiṭhī* (*Vāsishṭhī*), and the name of a tribe to which two female donors from Pāṭaliputra and another lady from some unknown place belong, occurs as *Koḍiya* (A 14, A 15) and *Koḍa* (A 116)[3]. In a few inscriptions the donor's relationship to his mother is mentioned as ' the son of so and so '. Such is the case in A 1 where king Dhanabhūti and his ancestors appear. Here the name of the respective mother refers to her gotra, e.g. *Gāgīputa* (*Gārgīputra*) *Gotiputa* (*Gauptīputra*), *Vāchhiputa* (*Vātsīputra*)[4]. In A 100, however, the donor is mentioned simply as the son of Śrī (*Seriyā puta*).

Once the relationship of the donor to his grandfather and father is expressed as *Jahiranatu Isirakhitaputa* (*Jahiranaptṛi Ṛishirakshitaputra*) A 50.

The female donor *Pusadevā* (*Pushyadevā*) is referred to as ' the mother of so and so ' e.g. *Dhamaguta-matu* (*Dharmagupta-mātṛi*) in A 120. In three other cases the name of the

[1] A 8, A 17, A 38, A 39, A 41, A 51, A 54, A 56-A 73. The titles *upāsaka* for male and *upāsikā* for female lay-worshippers, as well as *bhikhu* or *bhichhu* (*bhikshu*) for monks are never used in Bhārhut inscriptions. We find only *bhikhunī* or *bhichhunī* (*bhikshuṇī*) for nuns. The monks in Bhārhut inscriptions are to be recognized only from their ecclesiastical titles given below. In Sāñchī inscriptions, however, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* occur 4 and 15 times respectively, and *bhikhu* or *bhichhu* as also *bhikhunī* or *bhichhunī* occur very often.

[2] A 11, A 12, A 24, A 29, A 37, A 42-A 44, A 52, A 74-A 80.

[3] Cf. *Koḍāyo* for *Koḍiyo* in A 116 and B 72.

[4] Cf. Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, note 11: " The custom, in accordance with which each of the three kings bears a secondary name derived from the *gōtra* of his mother, has descended through the Andhras to the Kadambas and Chalukyas; see Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 5, note 2 ".

female donor is not mentioned, but she is called ' the mother of so and so ' cf. *Seṭaka-mātu* (*Śreshṭhaka-mātṛi*) A 18, *Ghāṭila-mātu* A 28, and *Tosālasa māta=Gosālasa matu* (*Gośālasya mātuḥ*) A 90. In A 54b, a man named *Nagarakhita* (*Nāgarakshita*) occurs as a donor in the company of his mother.

A female donor is referred to as ' the wife of so and so ' in *Revatimitabhāriyā* (*Revatīmitrabhāryā*) A 34, in *Vasukasa bhāriyā* A 46, or ' the daughter of so and so ' in *Mahamukhisa dhitu* (*Mahāmukhino duhituḥ*) A 42.

The professions of lay-donors are mentioned only in two cases. One of the donors (A 22) is styled as ' horseman ' (*asavārika=aśvavārika*), and the other (A 55) as ' sculptor ' (*rupakāraka=rūpakāraka*). In A 21, the donor is characterized as 'householder ' (*gahapati=gṛihapati*).[1]

A great variety is to be found in ecclesiastical titles:[2]

aya (*ārya*) ' the venerable ' A 8, A 67 - A 72;
bhadata (*bhadanta*) ' the reverend ' A 41, A 64–A 66;
bhānaka (*bhāṇaka*) ' the reciter ' A 54, A 54a, A 63;
combination of *bhadaṁta* with *aya* A 38;
combination of *aya* with *bhānaka* A 62;
combination of *bhadata* with *bhānaka* A 39, A 61;
combination of *aya* with *sutaṁtika* (*sūtrāntika*) ' the student of the sūtrāntas ' A 51;
combination of *aya* with *peṭaki* (*peṭakin*) ' who knows the *piṭakas* ' A 56;
combination of *aya* with *aṁtevāsi* (*antevāsin*) ' the pupil ' A 73;
combination of *bhadata* with *saṭupadāna* (*sṛishṭopādāna*) ' who has abandoned attachment ' A 58;
combination of *bhadata* with *aya*, *bhānaka*, and *navakamika* (*navakarmika*) ' superintendent of the works ' A 59;
bhatudesaka (*bhaktoddeśaka*) ' superintendent of meals '[3] A 17;
paṁchanekāyika (*pañchanaikāyika*) ' who knows the five Nikāyas ' A 57;
bhikhunī (*bhikshuṇī*) 'a nun'[4] A 11, A 12, A 29, A 44, A 52, A 80;
bhichhunī A 24, A 37, A 42, A 43, A 74 - A 79.

Personal Names

As the following classification points out, there is a great variety in the names given to persons. A large number of these names is religious (theophoric).[5] Apparently we are in a period when the worship of old vedic deities still existed and when the rule of some Gṛihyasūtras recommending to name a person after some nakshatra was in vogue. But the cult of minor deities and spirits like Yakshas, Bhūtas and Nāgas and of saints seems to have

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[1] In Sāñchī inscriptions there is a great variety of professional epithets like *seṭhi* (a banker), *vanija* (a merchant), *āvesani* (a foreman of artisans), *rājalipikara* (a royal scribe), *rajuka* (a high District officer), *lekhaka* (a writer), *vaḍhaki* (a mason), *pāvārika* (a cloak-seller), *sotika* (a weaver), and *kamika* (an artisan). The epithets ' horseman ' (*asavārika*, Bhārh. A 22) and 'householder ' (*gahapati*, Bhārh. A 21) occur as well (Rhys Davids SBE XI, p. 257, note, sees in *gahapati* a ' village landholder ').

[2] In Sāñchī we get some more ecclesiastical titles like *thera* (Senior), *dhamakathika* (preacher of the law), *vināyaka* (guide, instructor) and *sapurisa* (a holy man). On the general importance of some of the church titles see below p. 48 and notes.

[3] The donor is not specially said to be a monk. But the office he holds is known from the Pāli texts to be that of a clergyman.

[4] The corresponding designation for monks: *bhikhu* or *bhichhu* (*bhikshu*) is not to be found, as mentioned above p. 1, note 11.

[5] " Theophore Namen ", see Hilka, Alfons, *Die altindischen Personennamen*, Breslau, 1910, pp. 78-112.

been very popular. Besides, names derived from the Vaishnavite and Śaivite deities prove also the existence of these sects in that period. Often the person is called 'protected' (*guta*=*gupta*, *rakhita*=*rakshita*, *pālita*) or 'given' (*data*=*datta*),[1] by some deity or star; or the person is said to have some deity as his 'friend' (*mita*=*mitra*) or 'god' (*deva*), or is said to be the deity's servant (*dāsa*).[2] In the case of such names as may be called Buddhist, however, words as *saṁgha*, *dhama*=*dharma*, *budha*=*buddha*, *bodhi*, and *thupa*=*stūpa* appear in place of the deity's name.[3] It is surprising that such Buddhist names are relatively few, and that there is no marked difference in naming laymen and clergymen.[4] The non-religious names referring to the appearance of the body, mental dispositions, plants or animals are comparatively seldom met with.[5]

I. *Religious Names*

1. Buddhist: (a) Male names: *Thupadāsa* (*Stūpadāsa*) A 95; *Dhamaguta* (*Dharmagupta*) A 94, A 120; *Dhamarakhita* (*Dharmarakshita*) A 95; *Budharakhita* (*Buddharakshita*)[6] A 55, *A 57, *A 58; *Budhi* (*Buddhi*) A 21; *Bodhiguta* (*Bodhigupta*) A 99; *Saghamita* (*Saṅghamitra*) A 40; *Saṁghamita* (*Saṅghamitra*) A 106, (A 107); *Sagharakhita* (*Saṅgharakshita*) A 108; *Saghila* (*Saṅghila*) A 109.

   (b) Female names: *Dhamarakhitā* (*Dharmarakshitā*)* A 52, A 118; **Budharakhitā* (*Buddharakshitā*)[6]; A 76; **Samanā* (*Śramaṇā*) A 12.

2. Names derived from stars:

   A. Constellation (*nakshatra*)[7]—(a) Male names: *Utaragidhika* (*Uttaragridhyaka?*) A 7, *Jeṭhabhadra* (*Jyeshṭhabhadra*) A 92, **Punāvasu* (*Punarvasu*) A 72, *Pusa* (*Pushya*) A 98, *Pusaka* (*Pushyaka*) A 47, *Phagudeva* (*Phalgudeva*) A 30, *Bhāranideva* (*Bharaṇideva*) A 100, *Revatimita* (*Revatīmitra*) A 34, *Satika* (*Svātika*) A 132.

   (b) Female names: *Anurādhā* A 32, **Pusadatā* (*Pushyadattā*) A 43, A 44, *Pusadevā* (*Pushyadevā*) A 120, *Pusā* (*Pushyā*) A 27, **Phagudevā* (*Phalgudevā*) A 75 *Sakaṭadevā* (*Sakaṭa*[=*Rohiṇī*]*devā*)[8] A 15, *Sonā* (*Śravaṇā*) A 123, *Tisā* (*Tishyā*) A 49a.

   B. Planet (*graha*)[9]—(a) Male names: *Ăgaraju* (*Aṅgāradyut*) A 1, A 2.

   C. Sign of Zodiac (*rāśi*)[10]—(a) Male name: *Siha* (*Siṁha*)[11] A 111.

   (b) Female name: *Chāpadevā*[12] A 34.

3. Vedic: (a) Male names: *Agirakhita* (*Agnirakshita*)[13] A 23, *Mahīdasena* (*Mahendrasena*)[14]

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[1] Hilka l.c.p. 49 ff.

[2] Hilka l.c.p. 47.

[3] Hilka l.c.p. 104 f.

[4] In the following list the names of monks and nuns are shown with an asterisk mark.

[5] Hilka refers to them under the heading 'Naturgeschichtliche Benennungen' l.c.pp. 113-152.

[6] The name *Budharakhitā* could be also equivalent to Sk. *Budharakshitā* and refer to the planet Budha. But as '*dhama*' and '*saṁgha*' are found compounded with '*rakhita*' or similar expressions for 'protected' they are more likely to be Buddhist names.

[7] Hilka l.c.pp. 33-38 (Gestirnnamen).

[8] In Sāñchī the name *Rohaṇadevā*, read by Majumdar as *Rohaṇidevā*, is attested (cf. *List* No. 467, Majumdar 466). Other names with *Rohaṇī* as first member of a compound are *Rohaṇimitā* (*List* No. 996, 1033) and *Rohaṇiaśvā* (*List* No. 1327).

[9] Hilka l.c.p. 103; cf. note 4 about the possibility of *Budharakhitā* also being a name derived from a planet (*Budha*).

[10] Hilka l.c.p. 38.

[11] Perhaps this may be a name derived from an animal, cf. Hilka p. 119, *Siṁha-ghosha*. etc.

[12] *Chāpa* is taken to be the same as *dhanus*, the sign of the zodiac Sagittarius. Hilka, l.c.p 138 gives a list of names containing some word for 'bow' as the second member of a compound. But as in our case the name is that of a woman, it is not likely that it refers to the weapon.

[13] Hilka l.c.p. 80 f.

[14] Hilka l.c.p. 82 (Indra as Mahendra).

A 13, *Mita* (*Mitra*)[1] A 101, **Mahara* (*Mahira, Mihira*)[1] A 73, Visadeva (*Viśvadeva*)[2] A 1.

(b) Female names: *Ayamā* (*Aryamā*)[3] A 33, *Idadevā* (*Indradevā*)[4] A 19, A 45, *Mitadevā* (*Mitradevā*)[1] A 127, *Somā*[5] A 37.

4. Purāṇic: (a) Male names:

(I) Deities in general—*Devarakhita* (*Devarakshita*)[6] A 93, *Devasena*[6] A 64.

(II) Spirits and animal deities—**Bhutaka* (*Bhūtaka*)[7] A 8, *Bhutărakhita* (*Bhūtarakshita*)[7] A 31, *A 38, *Yakhila* (*Yakshila*)[8] A 105, **Gorakhita* (*Gorakshita*)[9] A 68, **Nāgadeva*[10] A 70.

(III) Ṛishi worship[11]—*Isidata* (*Ṛishidatta*) A 86, **Isidina* (*Ṛishidatta*) A 62, **Isipālita* (*Ṛishipālita*) A 59, A 60(?), *Isirakhita* (*Ṛishirakshita*) A 50, A 87, (A 87a), A 88.

(IV) Minor deities—*Sirima* (*Śrīmat*)[12] A 110, **Mahila*[13] (*Mahipālita*?) A 65, *Gāgamita* (*Gaṅgāmitra*)[14] A 89.

(V) Śaivite—*Isāna* (*Īśāna*)[15] A 84, A 85, *Vādhapāla* (*Vyādhapāla*)[16] A 3, *Samika* (*Svāmika*)[17] A 6, *A 41.

(VI) Vaishnavite—**Kanaka* (*Kṛishṇaka*)[18] A 39, *Kanhila* (*Kṛishṇala*) A 63, **Valaka* (*Balaka*)[19] A 61, *Valamita* (*Balamitra*) A 36.

(b) Female names[20]—

(I) Spirits and animal deities—**Bhutā* (*Bhūtā*) A 77, *Yakhī* (*Yakshī*) A 116, *Gorakhitā* (*Gorakshitā*) A 46, **Diganagā* (*Diṅnāgā*) A 24, **Nāgadevā* A 11, *Nāgarakhitā* (*Nāgarakshitā*) A 4, A 54b, *Nāgasenā* A 14, **Nāgā* A 74, **Nāgilā* A 29, **Sapagutā* (*Sarpaguptā*) A 78.

(II) Ṛishi worship—*Isirakhitā* (*Ṛishirakshitā*) A 53.

(III) Minor deities—*Sirimā* (*Śrimatī*) A 48, *Serī* (*Śrī*) A 100, *Chaṁdā* (*Chandrā*)[21] A 128.

(IV) Śaivite—*Samidatā* (*Svāmidattā*) A 122.

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[1] Hilka l.c.p. 87.
[2] Hilka l.c.p. 88.
[3] Hilka l.c.p. 81.
[4] Hilka l.c.p. 81 f.
[5] Hilka l.c.p. 102 f.
[6] Hilka l.c.p. 79-80.
[7] Hilka l.c.p. 87.
[8] Hilka l.c.p. 88.
[9] Hilka l.c.p. 120.
[10] Hilka l.c.p. 84 f.
[11] Hilka l.c.p. 104.
[12] Hilka l.c.p. 94.
[13] On suffix -(*i*)*lā* in names, see Hilka, l.c.p. 68 f.
[14] Hilka l.c.p. 84.
[15] Hilka l.c.p. 96.
[16] The name has been classified as Śaivite under the assumption that *vādha* corresponds to Sk. *vyādha* 'hunter' and that 'the protector of hunters' is a designation of Rudra-Śiva.
[17] Hilka l.c.p. 104.
[18] According to Lüders *Kanaka* is the defective writing for *Kanhaka* (*Kṛishṇaka*). For names referring to Kṛishṇa see Hilka l.c.p. 93. Hilka, however, takes *Kanaka* as 'gold' and classifies the name as referring to minerals (cf. p. 121). It is also possible to relate it to the appearance and parts of the body (II, 1) as it could correspond to '*karṇaka*'.
[19] Hilka l.c.p. 94.
[20] For references to Hilka see under male names.
[21] Hilka l.c.p. 101 f.

II. *Non-religious Names*

1. Appearance — colour, size, dress, voice, and parts of the body:
   - (a) Male names—**Sāmaka*[1] (*Śyāmaka*) A 66, *A 73, **Chula* (*Kshudra*)[2] A 51, **Chuladhaka* (*Kshudra*?) A 17, *Chulana* (*Kshudra*?) A 91, *Mahamukhi* (*Mahāmukhin*)[3] *A 42, *Muḍa* (*Muṇḍa*) A 102, *Ghāṭila* (*Ghāṭa* 'nape or back of the neck'?) A 28.
   - (b) Female names—*Sāmā* (*Śyāmā*)[4] A 20, *Golā*[5] A 49, *Ghosā* (*Ghoshā*)[6] A 117, *Kachulā* (*Kañchulā* 'a bodice')[7] A 115.
2. Mental disposition and temperament:
   - (a) Male names—*Anaṁda* (*Ānanda*) A 50, *Avisana* (*Avishaṇṇa*) A 82, A 83, **Naṁda* (*Nanda*)[8] A 69, **Nadagiri*[9] (*Nandagiri*) A 54, *Naṁdagiri*[9] A 97, *Dhuta* (*Dhūrta* 'crafty, cheat') A 96.
   - (b) Female names—*Ujhikā* (*Ujjhikā* 'one who has abandoned (?)') A 114, *Nadutarā* (*Nandottarā*) A 119, **Badhikā* (*Baddhikā* 'one who is bound') A 42.
3. Wealth, fame, and birth:
   - (a) Male names—*Dhanabhūti*[10] A 1, A 2, *Vasuka*[11] A 46, *Seṭaka* (*Śreshṭhaka*)[12] A 18, *Jātamita* (*Jitāmitra*?) A 26, **Apikinaka* (*Apigīrṇaka*?) A 67, *Yasika* (*Yaśas*?)[13] A 136, *Gosāla*=*Tosāla* (*Gośāla* 'born in a cow-stall') A 90, **Jāta*[14] A 56, **Paṁthaka* (*Panthaka* 'born on the way'?)[15] A 71, *Vijitaka* 'one born in the country'(?) A 104, *Suladha* (*Sulabdha*) A 22.
   - (b) Female name—*Avāsikā* (*Āvāsikā* 'one who has a residence(?)').
4. Plants and animals:
   - (a) Male names—*Atimuta* (*Atimukta*)[16] A 81, *Suga*, *Saga* (*Śuṅga*) A 1, A 2.
   - (b) Female names—*Valimitā* (*Vellimitrā*) A 35, *Kujarā* (*Kuñjarā*)[17] A 10.
5. Unclassified male names:
   Jahira A 50, *Yamiṭa* A 103.

Place-Names

Besides the place-names which occur more than once (cf. p. 2)—viz. *Vedisa* (six times), *Karahakaṭa* (five times), *Purikā* (five times), *Moragiri* (five time), *Chudathīla* (thrice), *Pāṭaliputa* (thrice), *Bibikānadikaṭa* (twice), *Bhojakaṭa* (twice), *Chikulana* (=*Chekulana*, twice),

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[1] Hilka l.c.p. 127.

[2] *Chula*, *Chuladhaka* and *Chulana* do not appear in Hilkas classification under 'Gestalt und körperliche Eigenschaften', p. 125.

[3] Hilka l.c.p. 128.

[4] Hilka l.c.p. 127.

[5] *Golā* 'a ball' may refer to the round form of the body. But it could also be derived from the river *Godā*(=*Godāvarī*) or from the country of the name '*Gola*'.

[6] For names compounded with *ghosha* as second member, see Hilka l.c.p. 130.

[7] A list of names referring to dress and ornament but not including *Kachulā* is given by Hilka l.c.p. 126.

[8] Hilka l.c.p. 134.

[9] *Nanda*, *Nanda-parvata* and *Nandi-giri* occur also as the names of a mountain.

[10] Hilka l.c.p. 133.

[11] For compounds with *vasu* see Hilka l.c.p. 133. For other names derived from the deities called *Vasus* see Hilka l.c.p. 88.

[12] Hilka l.c.p. 131.

[13] For names referring to fame see Hilka l.c.p. 142.

[14] For names referring to birth see Hilka l.c.p. 123.

[15] Cf. *Pāṇini*, IV, 3.29.

[16] Hilka l.c.p. 115.

[17] For names referring to animals, including other names for elephant but not *kujarā*, see Hilka l.c.pp. 117 ff.

Nagara (twice)—a number of places, in which the donors originated, is mentioned only once, for instance *Asitamasā*, *Kamuchu*(?), *Kākaṁdī*, *Kosambī*, *Khujatiduka*, *Therākūṭa*, *Dabhina*, *Naṁdinagara*, *Nāsika*, *Paḍela*, *Parakaṭa*, *Parikina*, *Bahaḍa*, *Benākaṭa*, *Bhogavaḍhana*, *Venuvagāma*, *Sirisapada* and *Selapura*.

A. *Formation*

If we compare these names with such place-names as are found in Sāñchī inscriptions, certain formative elements of that time are conspicuous. We find:

(a) Names ending in *-kaṭa*: *Karaha-kaṭa* A 6, A 7, A 8, *Para-kaṭa* A 48, *Bĭbikānadi-kaṭa* A 21, A 22, *Benā-kaṭa* A 49a, *Bhoja-kaṭa* A 23, A 24.

The ending *-kaṭa* probably goes back to Sanskrit *kaṭaka*[1] (modern *kaḍā*) in the sense of ' circle, valley or camp '. It occurs also very often in Prakrit inscriptions as *-kaṭa* or *-kaḍa*, for instance in Sāñchī in *Beda-kaḍa*, *Bhadana-kaṭa* (*Bhadana-kaḍa*), *Maḍalāchhi-kaṭa* (*Maḍalāchhi-kaḍa*), *Morajābhi-kaṭa* (*Morajăha*(*hi*)*-kaṭa* (*Morejāhi-kaḍa*), *Sida-kaḍa* (*Seda-kaḍa*), *Viraha-kaṭa* (*Veroha-kaṭa*).

(b) Names ending in *–gāma* (Skt. *–grāma* ' village '): *Venuva-gāma* A 52.

In Sāñchī we get a few more names with this ending, which is frequently used in the formation of place-names: *Kaṁdaḍi-gāma*, *Nava-gāma*, *Sāmika-gāma*.

(c) Names ending in *–kūṭa* ' peak ' or *–giri* ' mountain ': *Therā-kūṭa* A 41, *Mora-giri* A 25, A 29.

In Sāñchī the names ending in some word for mountain are: *Chuḍa-giri*, *Chuḍa-mora-giri*, *Māhā-mora-giri*, *Boṭa-Śriparvvata*.

(d) Names ending in *–nagara* ' town ': *Naṁdi-nagara* A 45.

In Sāñchī *Nadi-nagara* or *Naṁdi-nagara* and its derivatives occur very often. We also get *Aṭhaka-nagara*.

(e) Names ending in *–pada* (Skt. *–padra* ' a village ', cf. above the ending *–gāma*): *Sirisa-pada* A 53.

In Sāñchī this ending is found in *Kuthu-pada* (*Kuthuka-pada*), *Tākāra-pada* (*Tākāri-pada*) *Tiriḍa-pada*; *Phujaka-pada*, *Rohaṇi-pada*.

(f) Names ending in *–pura* ' town ': *Sela-pura* A 54.

In Sāñchī we find *Adha-pura* or its derivative.

(g) Names ending in *–vadhana* (Sk. *–vardhana* ' growth ', ' increase '): *Bhoga-vaḍhana* A 51.

In Sāñchī we often have *Bhoga-vaḍhana* (or *–vadhana*), besides *Dhama-vaḍhana* and *Puña-vadhana*.

(h) Other endings which are found in Sāñchī inscriptions, but which are not met with in Bhārhut inscriptions are:

–ghara (*Udubara-ghara*, *Kura-ghara*, *Kora-ghara*, *Kosa-ghara*),
–patha (*Kachu-patha*, *Subhaga-patha*, *Seta-patha*, *Sveta-patha*),
–văṭa or *–vada* or *–vida* (Skt. *vṛta* ' enclosed, enclosure '?) in *Achă-văṭa* or *–vaḍa*, *Puru-viḍa*, *Poḍa-viḍa*,
–vana (*Tuba-vana*, *Madhu-vana*).

B. *Identification*

Some of the place-names in Bhārhut inscriptions are to be identified with certainty, others only conjecturally; the location of quite a number of towns or villages remains unknown.

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[1] Cf. the name of the town *Dhaṁña-kaṭaka* (*List* No. 1271) by the side of *Dhaṁña-kaṭa* (*List* No. 1225), and *Dhaṁña-kaḍa* (*List* No. 1205), and *Dhenukā-kaṭaka* (*List* No. 1092) by the side of *Denukā -kaṭa* (*List* Nos. 1090, 1093, 1096, 1097), and *Dhenukā-kaḍa* (*List* No. 1121).

(1) The first group comprehends some renowned localities extending over a vast area from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the north-east of India to Nasik and Karhāḍ, places in the former Bombay State, in the West. Therefore it is obvious that Bhārhut attracted visitors not only from its vicinity but that pilgrims even from distant places flocked to the shrine or supported subscriptions to contribute to the embellishment and ornamentation of the monument. Important localities to be identified are:

Karahakaṭa, probably the modern Karhāḍ, in the district of Sātārā, Bombay State, about forty miles north of Kolhapur. The name reappears in the Kuḍā Buddhist cave inscription (*List* No. 1055) as Karahākaḍa, and seems to be the ancient form of the later Karahaṭaka, Karāḍ, the capital of one of the branches of the Śilāhāra family.[1]

Kosambī (Sk. *Kauśāmbī*), modern Kosam, on the left bank of the Jumna, about thirty miles to the west of Allahabad; according to the Mahāparinibbānasutta it was one of the great Indian cities at the time of the Buddha, famous as capital of the Vatsas or Vaṁsas.[2] To Kosambī our inscriptions refer only once (A 52). The nun Dhamarakhitā, inhabitant of Venuvagāma, is called Kosabeyikā (*Kauśāmbeyikā*) " native of Kosambī ".

Nāsika,[3] the modern Nasik on the Godāvarī, 117 miles by train to the north-east of Bombay, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, known to archaeologists on account of some old cave-temples.

Pāṭaliputa (*Pāṭaliputra*), modern Patna, the capital of Magadha in Maurya and Gupta times, founded by Ajātaśatru of Magadha as Pāṭaligāma in cr. 483 B.C., the last year of Buddha's life. A description of the town as the residence of the Maurya Chandragupta has been given at the end of the fourth century B.C. by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes. For excavations see L. A. Wadell, *Report on Excavations at Pāṭaliputra* Calcutta 1903; D. B. Spooner, *Mr. Ratan Tata's Excavations at Pāṭaliputra ASIAR.*, 1913-14, pp. 53-86.[4]

Purikā, according to the Khila-Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparvan XXXVIII, 20-22) a town between two ranges of the Vindhya mountains. The *Paurikas* or *Paulikas* are enumerated by different Purāṇas in the list of people in the Deccan after the *Daṇḍakas* and before the *Maulikas* and *Aśmakas*.[5]

Bhojakaṭa, second capital of Vidarbha (Berar);[6] probably to be identified with Bhojpur in Bhopal, six miles to the east south-east of Bhilsa. The Bhojpur topes have been described by Cunningham (' Bhilsa Topes ') and some relic bowls with inscriptions have been found there (*List* No. 676-678).

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[1] Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, note 20; Cf. Nunda Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, 2nd ed. 1927, p. 92; Shafer, Robert, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 93 f. (Nr. 176).

[2] Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, I, pp. 692 ff.; Nunda Lal Dey, l.c. pp. 96 f.; *BI.* pp. 127 f.

[3] Cf. Bimala Churn Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London 1932, p. 57; Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 139, and p. 147, under Pañchavaṭī; *BI.* p. 128; Nāsika is found in the enumeration of people of the west of India in the Purāṇas, see W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, 1920, p. 75.

[4] For further references see Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.pp. 151 ff.; Malalasekera l.c. Vol. II, pp. 178 f; *BI.* p. 129.

[5] Cf. Kirfel, l.c.p. 75; Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 162; Law l.c.p. 65; *BI.* p. 130; Hultzsch, *IA.*, Vol. XXI, p. 234, note 55, remarks: " On a town of this name,which is referred to in the great epic, see Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit -Wörterbuch*, s.v. At the time of the Śilāhāras, Purī was, the capital of the Koṅkaṇ; *IA.*, Vol. XIII, p. 134. Another Purī in Orissa is well-known by its shrine of Jagannātha, *IA.*, Vol. XX, p. 390 ".

[6] Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 33, and 224; Law, l.c.p. 62; *BI.* p. 131; Shafer, l.c.p. 91; Hultzsch, *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, note 32.

Vedisa (Sk. *Vaidiśa*, P. *Vedisa*, *Vedisagiri*), modern Besnagar,[1] $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Bhilsa in Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh), at the fork of the Bes (*Bias*) and the Betwa rivers; known from the pillar inscription of Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador from Taxila, sent to the king Kāsīputa Bhāgabhadra (Cf. *List* No. 669). The name is derived from the river *Vidiśā* (Bes, Bias), mentioned in the Purāṇas as one of the rivers originating in the Pariyātra mountain[2] together with the *Vetravatī* (Betwa); the *Vaidiśas* appear *ibid.* in the lists of the Vindhya population.[3]

(*2*) Suggestions can be made regarding the following places:

Asitamasā, supposed by Cunningham to have been situated on the bank of the Tamasā or Tonse river in Rewa, Central India.[4]

Kākaṁdī,[5] is known from grammatical Sanskrit literature[6] as well as from Buddhist and Jain sources. The Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV, 2, 123 cites the name as that of a place in the East, quoting the derivation *Kākandaka* "inhabitant of *Kākandī*". In the SnA. p. 300 Sāvatthī (*Śrāvastī*) is said to have originally been the residence of the Ṛishi Savattha, "just as Kosambī was the abode of Kusumba and Kākandī that of Kākanda" (*yathā Kusubassa nivāso Kosambī Kākandassa Kākandī*). Hultzsch[7] referred to the mentioning of Kākandī in Jain literature (Paṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragachha, *IA*. Vol. XI, p. 247). The exact location of the town is not known.

Naṁdinagara has been identified with Nandigrāma=Nandgaon in Oudh, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad,[8] or with Nandner (near Tonk);[9] but these identifications are not very probable, as the town is more often quoted in early Brāhmī inscriptions than any other,[10] besides Ujenī (Ujjayinī). Is it a second name for some important place in central India? According to the dictionaries *nandināgarī* means a particular kind of writing, and *nandināgaraka* a particular written character. –A town *Nandipura* occurs in a Jain cosmographical list after Kauśāmbī.[11]

Benākaṭa cf. A 49a.

Bhogavaḍhana (Sk. *Bhogavardhana*), a place met with in several early Brāhmī inscriptions,[12] and known from Sanskrit literature. The exact location is unknown[13]. The Purāṇas place the country between *Aśmaka* and *Koṅkaṇa*[14]. Majumdar[15] summing up what is known says: "From some of the Purāṇas it seems that this place has to

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[1] Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 29 (Bessanagara), p. 35 (Bidisā); Law, l.c.p. 35; *BI.*, p. 132; Malalasekera, l.c. Vol. II, p. 922. For a sketch of Besnagar by Cunningham see *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, ed. by Sir A. Cunningham, Vol. X, Pl. XII; for a description of the remains, *ibid.*, pp. 36-46. In the '*Monuments of Sāñchī*', Vol. I, p. 2, the following note is given: "The city was not confined to the fork between the two rivers but extended at last two-thirds of a mile to the river Beś". Cf. *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, p. 186.

[2] Kirfel, l.c.p. 65.

[3] Kirfel, l.c.p. 76.

[4] Law, l.c.p. 56; Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 202 (Tamasā); *BI.* p. 125; Kirfel, l.c.p. 65 (Tamasā).

[5] Malalasekera, l.c. Vol. I, p. 558; *BI.* p. 127; Law, l.c.p. 27.

[6] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

[7] *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, note 59.

[8] *BI.* p. 128; Law, l.c.p. 31; Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 131. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dict.*, gives *Nandigrāma* as name of a village near Daulatabad.

[9] Majumdar, *Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 299, referring to Bühler.

[10] Cf. *List* s.v. *Nadinagara*, *Nādinagara*, *Naṁdinagara* and derivatives *Nadanagarikā*, *Nadinagarikā*, *Nādinagarikā*, *Naṁdinagāraka*, *Naṁdinagarikā*, *Naṁdināgārikā*.

[11] Kirfel, l.c.p. 226.

[12] Cf. *List* s.v. *Bhogavaḍhana*, *Bhogavaḍhanaka* and *Bhogavaḍhaniya*.

[13] *BI.* p. 130 f.

[14] Kirfel, l.c.p. 75.

[15] *Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 300.

be located somewhere in the direction of Aśmaka and Muḷaka, that is, in the Godāvarī valley."

Moragiri (Sk. *Mayūragiri*) is represented in Sāñchī inscriptions by the village (*gāma*) Chuḍa-moragiri[1] and by Mahā-moragiri.[2] Hultzsch[3] contributed the following note: "With Mayūragiri compare Mayūraparvata, a locality which is referred to in a quotation of the *Charaṇavyūhabhāshya*; see Dr. Bühler's translation of Āpastamba, p. XXXI note, and Dr. von Schroeder's Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā, p. XXIV".

Venuvagāma (Sk. *Veṇukagrāma*), dwelling-place of the nun Dhamarakhitā, the "native of Kosambī" (A 52), is stated[4] to be a suburb of Kosambī and to have been identified by Cunningham with the modern village of Ben-Purwa to the north-east of Kosam. But the name seems more akin to *Beluvagāma* (also called *Beḷuvagāmaka* and *Beḷugāma*, a village near Vesāli (*Vaiśālī*), where the Buddha spent his last rainy season, according to the Mahāparinibbānasutta.[5] In the corresponding Sk. text (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra § 13.2) the name of the village is *Veṇugrāmaka*.[6] The modern Belgaum in the Deccan also represents Veṇugrāma.[7]

Sirisapada. The location of the place is unknown. Hultzsch[8] refers to a village called Śirīshapadraka mentioned in two inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty.[9]

(3) The list of place-names not identified as yet comprehends: Kamuchu(?), Khujatiduka,[10] Chikulana (Chekulana),[11] Chudaṭhīla, Therākūṭa, Dabhina, Nagara,[12] Paḍela,[13] Parakaṭa, Parikina, Bahaḍa, Bĭbikanadikaṭa,[14] Selapura.

[Epithets designating somebody with regard to his domicile are formed from place-names with the suffixes *-ikă*, *-iyă* or *-kă*; see the treatment of important suffixes (under 6, a, 8, b, and 10, b) above pp. XXVIII f.]

[1] *List* No. 625, as read by Majumdar.
[2] *List* Nos. 189, 313, as read by Majumdar.
[3] *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, note 54.
[4] *BI.* p. 127; Law, l.c.p. 35.
[5] Malalasekera, l.c. Vol. II, p. 313.
[6] Waldschmidt, *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha* I, Göttingen 1944, pp. 88 ff.
[7] Cf. Nunda Lal Dey, l.c.p. 195, s.v. Sugandhavartī.
[8] *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, note 66.
[9] *IA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82 and 88. Barua-Sinha's (*BI.* p. 27) equation with *Sirīsavatthu*, a city of the Yakkhas in Ceylon (Malalasekera, l.c. Vol. II, p. 1149), does not need to be discussed.
[10] *BI.* p. 128: "The Purāṇas mention *Kubjaka* and *Kubjāmra* among the holy places of India".
[11] Barua-Sinha (*BI.* p. 128), wrongly taking Chikula as name of the place, try to combine it with Chaul, near Bombay, by way of "*Chikula, Chekula=Cheula*").
[12] Occurring only in the derivation *năgarika* A 43 (A 44). Kirfel, l.c.p. 80, mentions *Nāgaraka* as designation of the residents of Pāṭaliputra according to Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra with Yaśodhara's commentary. Could *năgarikā* appear in the Bhārhut inscription as a short form for *Naṁdinăgarikā* met with in A 45 and other early Brāhmī inscriptions?
[13] Barua-Sinha, *BI.* p. 129: "But Paḍela is evidently the ancient name of Paṇḍeria in Bilaspur District, Central Provinces".
[14] Barua-Sinha, *BI.* p. 130: "This, as its name implies, was a place in the region of the Bimbikā river".

(c) TEXT—TRANSLATION—NOTES : A 1—136

1. A 1 - 4 DONATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY[1]

A 1 (687); PLATE I

ON a pillar of the eastern gateway, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, with remarks by Rajendralala Mitra, and Bühler, *StBh.* (1879), p. 128 f. No. 1, and Pl. XII and LIII; Rajendralala Mitra, *PASB.* 1880, p. 58 ff.; Hultzsch, *IA.*, Vol. XIV (1885), p. 138 f., and Pl.; *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 60, No. 1; *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 1; Ramaprasad Chandra, *MASI.*, No. 1 (1919), p. 21, No. 20, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 1f., No. 1. Bühler, *ASWI.* (1883), Vol. V, p. 73.

TEXT:

1 Suganaṁ raje raño Gāgīputasa Visadevasa
2 pauteṇa[2] Gotiputasa Āgarajusa puteṇa
3 Vāchhiputena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ toranāṁ[3]
4 silākaṁmaṁto cha upaṁno[4]

TRANSLATION:

During the reign of the Sugas (*Śuṅgas*)[5] the gateway was caused to be made and the stone-work (i.e. carving) presented by Dhanabhūti,[6] the son of a Vāchhī (*Vātsī*),[7] son of Āgaraju (*Aṅgāradyut*),[8] the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*)[7] and grandson of king Visadeva (*Viśvadeva*),[9] the son of Gāgī (*Gārgī*).[7]

That the *Śuṅgas* are meant by the *Sugas* was first recognised by Bühler. *Raje* was translated by Rajendralala Mitra ' in the kingdom ', by Barua-Sinha ' within the dominion',[10] but the term *rājyasaṁvatsare* in No. 22 and 33, *rajyasaṁ* in No. 51 of my *List* is in favour of the meaning ' during the reign ' assigned to the word by Hultzsch. *Silākaṁmaṁto* was first correctly explained by Rajendralala Mitra; it refers no doubt to the sculptures on the gateway. Bühler was the first to derive *upaṁno* from Sk. *utpannaḥ*, but his translation was wrong. Hultzsch rendered ' *silākaṁmaṁto cha upaṁno* ' at first ' and the masonry was finished ' and later on ' and the stone-work arose '.

Barua-Sinha take *upaṁno* in the sense of the causative and translate ' and the workmanship

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[1] Another donation by a member of the royal family is probably to be found in the fragmentary donative inscription No. A 130.

[2] This word has been read by all editors as *pauteṇa*. But as the diphthong *au* never occurs in the Bhārhut inscriptions and as it is linguistically untenable we suggest to read *poteṇa*, the more as the middle horizontal mark to the left, which is supposed to give the *mātrā* for *au*, is very slight and hence it is very likely that it is just an accidental prolongation of the middle horizontal mark to the right. On somewhat similar ground Lüders himself reads *dānaṁ* instead of *donaṃ* in A 64.

[3] Read *toraṇaṁ*. The engraver has forgotten to incise the left upper bar of *ṇa*.

[4] The last *akshara* looks like *ṇa*, but there can be little doubt that it is to be read *no*, the right portion of the *o*-sign being attached to the top of the *na* and not as usually to the middle of the letter.

[5] The name appears in the classification given above II, 4, a (names derived from plants). Śuṅga is a name for the Indian fig tree (=*vaṭa*).

[6] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth).

[7] Regarding gotra-names cf. p.2.

[8] See classification 1, 2, B, a (names derived from planets). Hultzsch, *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, note 11: " As suggested by Dr. Bühler, this name has to be explained by *Aṅgāra[ka] iva dyotata ity Aṅgāradyut*, 'shining like (the planet) Mars '."

[9] See classification 1, 3, a (names referring to vedic deities).

[10] Barua, temporarily having changed his opinion, translates ' during the reign of the Śuṅgas ' in *Barh.* I, p. 29, but ' within the dominion of the Śuṅgas ' again *ibid.*, p. 41.

in stone has been produced ', but all these renderings are unsatisfactory. In my opinion the term *upaṁno* is used here in the same meaning as in the language of the Buddhist Pāli Canon. Innumerable times it is stated in the Vinaya that such and such object was *saṁghassa uppanno*; cf. *e.g.* Cullav., V, 23, 1 f.: *saṁghassa makasavījanī uppannā hoti*; *chamaravījanī uppannā hoti; saṁghassa chhattaṁ uppannaṁ hoti.* The words are generally translated ' a mosquito fan, or a *chamara* fan, or a sun-shade, had come into the possession of the Saṁgha '. This is quite true, but it is only by donations that the Saṁgha acquired these things, and so *uppanna* seems to have assumed the meaning of ' presented ', which would suit admirably well also in our inscription.

From the inscription A 3 (mentioning Dhanabhūti's son, prince Vādhapāla) it results that Dhanabhūti —to his grandfather the title ' king ' is given in our inscription— was a king himself[1]. Cunningham found the name Dhanabhūti as that of a donor again in an inscription from Mathurā (*List* No. 125), and tried to link this donor to king Dhanabhūti of our Bhārhut inscriptions. The revision of the inscription *List* No. 125 given here as a supplement shows that his assumption is an ill-founded one.

SUPPLEMENT: MATHURĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHANABHŪTI

List No. 125; Plate I

Fragmentary inscription on a railing pillar from Mathurā. According to Cunningham the inscription was cut on a corner pillar with sockets for rails on two adjacent faces, and sculptures on the other two faces. Afterwards another railing was attached, and fresh holes of a much larger size were then cut in the face bearing the inscription. Cunningham, moreover, states that the pillar was in the Aligarh Institute, but when Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda visited the Institute in September 1921, he was unable to trace the stone.[2] So our knowledge of the inscription is restricted to the reading and the facsimile which Cunningham published first *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. III (1873), p. 36, No. 21, and Plate XVI, and again *Stūpa of Bhārhut* (1879), p. 130, and Plate LIII. The facsimile in the Stūpa of Bhārhut is less trustworthy, being evidently altered, not from the stone itself, but in accordance with preconceived ideas about the reading of the text. From this revised facsimile Senart edited the whole inscription in ' *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* ', Vol. II (1886), p. 476, note 1=*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 246, note 62 (English translation), and the second part only in *J.As.* Sér. VIII, Vol. XV (1890), p. 119 f.

Text:

1 ka[p].[3] . . . .
2 bhūti[sa][4] . . . . ts.[5]
3 putrasa . . . . sa[6]

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[1] Cf. the discussion on the date of our Bhārhut inscriptions above p. XXX.

[2] *ASI. Ann. Rep.*, 1922-23, p. 166.

[3] The second *akshara* may have been *ha*, but it can hardly have been *la* as assumed by Senart. After *kap.* about six *aksharas* are completely destroyed. As regards the restoration of this and the next two lines see the remarks below.

[4] Of *sa* only a minute particle is preserved, but the reading is certain. Between *bhūtisa* and *ts.* about four *aksharas* are missing.

[5] In the first facsimile the sign is only *tsa*, in the revised facsimile it has been changed to *tsā*, but certainly only because Cunningham thought that *Vātsīputrasa* was the original reading.

[6] Before *sa* the facsimile shows a sign which Cunningham transcribed by *la*, but in this he cannot be right, as *la* never shows a slanting bottom line as the letter in the facsimile. Considering that Cunningham was unable to decipher the last but one letter in the second line, it is very probable that the corresponding letter in the third line also was defaced and that the sign given in the facsimile is imaginary.

4 Dhanabhūtisa dāna[ṁ][1] vedikā
5 toraṇāni cha ratanagṛih[e][2] sa-
6 rvabudhapujāye[3] sahā[4] mātāpi-
7 tihī[5] sahā [cha][6] chatu[hī][7] parishāhī[8]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Dhanabhūti, the......, the son of a (Vā)ts(ī)......, ... bhūti...... (consisting in) a railing and gateways at the jewel-house in honour of all Buddhas, together with (his) parents and together with the four assemblies.

Whereas the second part of the record is absolutely clear, the restoration of the sadly mutilated first three lines presents considerable difficulties. On the Eastern gateway at the Stūpa of Bhārhut there is an inscription (A 1) which records that the gateway was caused to be made and the stone work presented by Vācchiputa Dhanabhūti, the son of Gotiputa Āgaraju and grandson of *rājan* Gāgīputa Visadeva. And there is at Bhārhut another inscription on a rail (A 3) to the effect that the rail was the gift of the *Kumāra* Vādhapāla, the son of *rājan* Dhanabhūti. When Cunningham became acquainted with these inscriptions, he tried to establish a connection between the Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscriptions and his namesake at Mathurā by supplying in the Mathurā inscription *dhana* at the end of the first line, restoring *vātsī* at the end of the second line and *vādhapā* between *putrasa* and the supposed *lasa* in the third line. In his revised facsimile, where the restored letters have been entered, the first four lines appear therefore as follows:

kapa .. .. (Dhana)–
bhūti[sa] .. .. .. (Vā)tsī–
putrasa (Vādhapā)lasa
Dhanabhūtisa dānaṁ vedikā.

Cunningham was of the opinion that from the record as restored by him we obtain another name of the royal family mentioned in the Bhārhut inscription in Dhanabhūti II, the son of Vādhapāla, and grandson of Dhanabhūti I, and he used this arrangement of the pedigree for deriving important conclusions with regard to the date of the Bhārhut Stūpa. But a glance at the text of the inscription as established by Cunningham will be sufficient to show that it can never convey the sense that Cunningham gathered from it. Neither is Vādhapāla called the son of Dhanabhūti I, nor Dhanabhūti II the son of Vādhapāla. I doubt very much that there was any relation between the Dhanabhūti of Bhārhut and the Dhanabhūti of our inscription. Judging from the palaeography of the inscriptions, the latter must be at least fifty years younger. There is nothing to prove that he was a *rājan* or the son of a *rājan*. On the contrary, the assignment of a share in the gift simply to his father and mother tends to show that he was a private person. The restoration of .. *ts. putrasa* as *Vātsīputrasa* is probable, but it cannot be decided whether it is to be joined with the preceding name or with

[1] The *anusvāra* appears only in Cunningham's revised facsimile, but as the inscription is carefully engraved, we may assume that it was overlooked in the first facsimile.
[2] The *e*-sign is missing in the facsimiles, but probably only by oversight.
[3] The *e*-sign is distinct in the first facsimile, but omitted in the second.
[4] Here and in the next line the word is clearly *sahā*.
[5] Cunningham read *mata pitrohi*, Senart *mātapitihī* (?) and later on *mātāpitāhi*. For grammatical reasons the reading *-pitihi* would seem to be the correct one. The *ī*-sign of *hī* is distinct.
[6] The *akshara* which according to the facsimile was blurred and omitted in their transcriptions by Cunningham and Senart was evidently *cha*.
[7] According to the facsimiles the last *akshara* was blurred. It was either *hī* or *hi* as read by Senart.
[8] Cunningham and Senart read *parishāhi*, but here again the *ī*-sign is distinct in the facsimiles.

Dhanabhūtisa. In the latter case, we should, of course, have to assume that it was due to mere chance that he had a mother of the same *gotra* as the Dhanabhūti of Bhārhut, their identity being precluded by the script of their records. There is absolutely no reason why *bhūtisa* should be restored as *Dhanabhūtisa*, names ending in *bhūti* being very frequent in this time.

The term *ratnagṛiha* seems to denote a Stūpa. The term P. *parisā*, Sk. *parishad* is used also in the Pāli Canon and in the scriptures of the Sarvāstivādins with reference to the division of the Buddhist Order into *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhunīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*.

A 2 (688); Plate XXIII

Fragmentary inscription on a pillar of a gateway, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 128, No. 2 and Pl. LIII; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 3, No. 2.

Text:

1 Sagāna raja . . . . . .
2 Agaraju . . . . . .
3 toraṇaṁ[1] . . . . . .

Translation:

During the reign of the Sugas (*Śuṅgas*)[2] . . . . . . Āgaraju (*Aṅgāradyut*?)[2] . . . . . . the gateway . . . . . .

The text of the inscription was probably the same as that of No. A 1. Another fragmentary toraṇa-inscription is No. A 129.

A 3 (869)[3]; Plate XXIII

Rail inscription. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 116; Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 54 and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 60; and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 30, No. 103; Barua, *Barh.* I, p. 42.

Text:

Dhanabhūtisa rājano putasa kamārasa[4] Vādhapālasa [dānaṁ]

Translation:

(Gift) of prince Vādhapāla (*Vyādhapāla*),[5] the son of king Dhanabhūti.

Dhanabhūti is already known as the donor of the 'toraṇa' mentioned in A 1. There he is not referred to as 'king' as he is in our inscription; in A 1, however, his grandfather bears that title.

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[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The transcript on p. 128 has *Saganam* and *Aga Rajna*. The true readings are apparently *Sugānaṁ raje* and *Āgaraju*.

[2] For the names see notes in A 1.

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[4] *kamārasa* is obviously a scribe's mistake for *kumārasa*.

[5] This derivation is not quite certain, but more probable than that of Barua and Sinha who suggest Vṛiddhapāla. For *vādha*=*vṛiddha* they refer to '*vādharāja*' in the Hathigumphā inscription (*List* No. 1345), but there *vadharājan* appears. The name Vādhapāla (=Vyādhapāla) has been classified above (I, 4, a, 5) as Śaivite.

A 4 (882)[1]; Plate II

Rail inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.—Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), Pl. LVI, No. 67 (Plate only); Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 60; *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 115.

Text:

........kasa rāño bhayaye Nāgarakhitāye dānaṁ

Translation:

Gift of Nāgarakhitā (*Nāgarakshitā*)[2], the wife of king.....ka.

Hultzsch proposed to read *tisa* instead of *kasa* in the beginning of the inscription and was of the opinion that the name of the king should be reconstructed as Dhanabhūti, the king mentioned in A 1 and A 3. In this he was followed by Lüders (*List*) and Barua-Sinha. The impression on the estampage, however, does not bear out that reading. As no king's name ending in *-ka* appears in the Bhārhut inscriptions it is difficult to make any suggestion about the name of the king whose wife Nāgarakshitā was.

[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription has not been recovered.

[2] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).

2. A 5 – 54 DONATIONS BY INHABITANTS OF CERTAIN PLACES

(a) A 5 - 9 Inhabitants of Karahakaṭa

A 5 (705); Plate II

On a coping-stone (No. VIII), now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 131, No. 16, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 16, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 16; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, No. 15, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 119.

Text:

1 Karahakaṭa-n[i]gamasa
2 dāna[1]

Translation:

The gift of the town of Karahakaṭa.

A 6 (767); Plate II

On a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 25). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 136, No. 56, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 70, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 70; Barua-Sinha, *BI.*, (1926), p. 12, No. 27.

Text:

Karahakaṭa[2] Samikasa[3] dāna thabho

Translation:

The pillar (is) the gift of Samika (*Svāmika*)[4] from Karahakaṭa.

A 7 (809); Plate XXIII

On a pillar, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 96, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vo. XL (1886), p. 59; *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17, No. 46.

Text:

Karahakaṭa Utaragidhikasa thabho dānaṁ[5]

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[1] This is the reading of Hultzsch. In the impression before me the word is obliterated.
[2] Hultzsch: –*kaṭ*[*ā*]; Barua-Sinha: –*kaṭā*, but the abl. sg. in –*a* is quite common in Bhārhut inscriptions.
[3] The *ka* has been inserted afterwards.
[4] See classification I, 4, a, 5 (Śaivite names).
[5] From Cunningham's eye-copy which agrees with his transcript. The *naṁ* has been written above the line.

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of Utaragidhika (*Uttaragṛdhyaka* ?)[1] from Karahakaṭa.

A 8 (763); PLATE II

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 27). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 52, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 67, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 67; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 24.

TEXT:

1 Karahakaṭa
2 aya-Bhutakasa thabho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the venerable Bhutaka (*Bhūtaka*)[2] from Karahakaṭa.

A 9 (891)[3]; PLATE XXIV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 8, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 36, No. 126.

TEXT:

......rakaṭ[ā]yāyā[4]

TRANSLATION:

(The gift) of a female inhabitant of (Ka)ra(ha)kaṭa (?).

Cunningham read the inscription as ...*rakatayāyā*, but the third letter in his eye-copy is clearly *ṭ[ā]* or *ṭ[o]*. Lüders in his *List* proposed to restore [Karaha]kaṭiyāyā, gen. of Karahakaṭiyā i.e. a female inhabitant of Karahakaṭa. This explanation has also been adopted by Barua-Sinha, but as there is no *ha* between *ra* and *ka* it remains doubtful.

(b) A 10-12 Inhabitants of Chudaṭhīla

A 10 (820); PLATE II

ON a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 16). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 6, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 104, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 104; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 18, No. 54.

TEXT:

Chudaṭhīlikāyā Kujarāyā dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Kujarā (*Kuñjarā*),[5] the Chudaṭhīlikā (inhabitant of *Chudaṭhīla*).

[1] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).
[2] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[4] From Cunningham's eye-copy.
[5] See classification II, 4, b (names derived from animals).

A 11 (819); Plate II

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 19). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 5, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 103, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 103; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 18, No. 53.

Text:

Chudaṭhīlik[ā]yā Nāgadevāyā bhikhuniyi[1] (dānaṁ)

Translation:

(The gift) of the nun Nāgadevā,[2] the Chudaṭhīlikā (inhabitant of *Chudaṭhīla*).

A 12 (720); Plates III, XLVI

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 9, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 29, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 29; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 7, No. 10.

Text:

1 Samanāyā bhikhuniyā Chudaṭhīlikāyā
2 dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of the nun Samanā (*Śramaṇā*),[3] the Chudaṭhīlikā (inhabitant of *Chudaṭhīla*).

Barua-Sinha's correction of *Samanāyā* to *Sumanāya* is superfluous. For the male name Samaṇa see the Sāñchī inscriptions Nos. 336 and 530 in my *List*, the Nāsik inscr. No. 1144 and the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscrs. Nos. 1332 and 1337 and the female name Śamaṇikā in No. 43. The spelling of the name with the dental *na* conforms to the rule observed in the Bhārhut inscriptions, where, with the exception of the toraṇa inscription, *ṇa* is everywhere replaced by *na*. The derivation of Chudaṭhīlikā from Sk. *Chundasthalī* proposed by Barua-Sinha need not be discussed.

(c) A 13-15 Inhabitants of Pāṭaliputra

A 13 (818); Plate III

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 44). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 4, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 102, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 102; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 18, No. 52.

Text:

Pāṭal[i]putā Mahīdasenasa dānaṁ

---

[1] Read *bhikhuniyā*.
[2] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[3] See classification I, 1, b (Buddhist names).

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Mahīdasena (*Mahendrasena*)[1] from Pāṭaliputa (*Pāṭaliputra*).

A 14 (719); PLATES III, XXVIII

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 18). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 8, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 28, and Pl., *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 28; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 7, No. 9.

TEXT:

1 Pāṭal[i]putā Nāgasenāya Koḍi-
2 yāniyā dānaṁ[2]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Nāgasenā,[3] the Koḍiyānī (belonging to the *Koḍiya* tribe), from Pāṭaliputa (*Pāṭaliputra*).

Hultzsch mentioned as a possibility that Koḍiyānī, which occurs again as the surname of a lady from Pāṭaliputra in No. A 15, might be the equivalent of Kauṇḍinyāyanī, and Barua-Sinha have accepted this explanation which in my opinion is phonetically untenable. Hultzsch himself preferred to take Koḍiyānī as the feminine derivation of Koḍiya formed like *aryāṇī* from *arya*, *kshatriyāṇī*, from *kshatriya*, etc. There can be little doubt that this is the right view, and that Koḍiyānī has the same meaning as Koḷiyadhītā, the epithet of the lay-sister Suppavāsā in A. I, 26. *Koḍiya* occurs as a surname of the *thera* Suṭṭhiya, the founder of the *Koḍiya gaṇa*, in the Sthavirāvalī of the Kalpasūtra of the Jains 4; 10: *therā Suṭṭhiya-Suppaḍibuddhā Koḍiya-Kākaṁdagā Vagghāvaccasagottā.*[4] *Koḍiya* becomes *Koḷiya* in Pāli and *Koliya* in the later language. The Koḷiyas or Koliyas are frequently mentioned in Buddhist literature as a tribe that was intimately related to the Sākiyas, although there were quarrels between them about the water of the Rohiṇī river which divided their territories; see *J.* V, 412, 14 ff.; *DhA.* transl. III, 70; *SnA.* 352, 7 ff.; *Mvu.* I, 348, 8 ff.; II, 76, 7; III, 93, 20. That the surname of the Jaina *thera* is nothing else but the name of that tribe is proved by the second designation as Vagghāvacca, which agrees with the statement that the Koḷiyas were known also by the name of Vyāghrapadyas (*Mvu.* I, 355, 13 *kālena rishiṇā jātā tti koliyā tti samājñā vyāghrapathe vyāghrapadyā samājñā cha*) and their town as Koḷanagara or Vyagghapajja (*SnA.* 356, 17 f.). The legends about the origin of these names are, of course, later inventions[5]. I am therefore convinced that Koḍiyānī is a surname of the same meaning as Koḍiya in the Jaina text. The exact counterpart of Koḍiyānī is Śākiyānī, ' belonging to the Śākya tribe ', used of the mother of the Buddha in *Mvu.* II, 12, 15. Cf. A 15, B 72 and Koḍāya in A 116.

[1] See classification I, 3, a (names referring to vedic deities).
[2] The second line is engraved above the first line.
[3] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[4] On *Koṭṭiya* (*Koḍiya*)–*Gaṇa* see Bühler in 'Further Proofs of the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition ', *WZKM.*, IV (1890), p. 318.
[5] See Weber-Fausböll, Die Pāli-Legende von der Entstehung des Sākya–und Koliya-Geschlechtes, *Indische Studien* 5, pp. 412-437; Hardy, R. Spence, *A Manual of Buddhism*, sec. ed. London, 1880, pp. 317 ff.; Law, Bimala Churn, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 290 ff.; Kern, *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. I, pp. 174 and 295.

A 15 (816); Plate III

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 42). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 2, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 100, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 100; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17 f., No. 50.

Text:

Pāṭaliputā Koḍiyāniyā Sakaṭadevāyā dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Sakaṭadevā (*Śakaṭadevā*),[1] the Koḍiyānī (belonging to the *Koḍiya* tribe) from Pāṭaliputa (*Pāṭaliputra*).

For Koḍiyānī cf. note on No. A 14.

(d) A 16-20 Inhabitants of Purikā

A 16 (782); Plate III

On a pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 71, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 83, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 83; Barua-Sinha, *BI.*, p. 14, No. 33.

Text:

Purikāya dāyakana dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of the donors from Purikā.

A 17 (812); Plate XXIV

On a pillar, now at Pataora. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 99, and Pl. LV, and Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17, No. 47.

Text:

Chuladhakasa Purikaya bhatudesakasa dānaṁ[2]

Translation:

The gift of Chuladhaka (?)[3] from Purikā, the superintendent of meals.[4]

A 18 (838); Plate III

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879),

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[1] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).

[2] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The transcript has *Purikāya.*

[3] *Chula* occurs as the first part of the name of the goddess Chulakokā 'Little Kokā' (B 11), cf. also *Chulana* in A 91. *Chula* has been derived from *kshudra* in the translation of our inscription by Lüders in his *List.* Regarding different personal names beginning with Chula see *List* p.186. In our classification the name has been grouped as referring to the size of the body, see II, 1, a.

[4] The expression *bhatta-uddesaka* occurs in Pāli texts and is translated in *PTSD*, as '(thera) (an elder) who supervises the distribution of food, a superintendent of meals'.

p. 140, No. 23, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 118, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 118; Barua-Sinha *BI.* (1926), p. 21, No. 73.

TEXT:

Purikāyā Seṭaka-[mā]tu dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the mother of Seṭaka (*Śreshṭhaka*)[1] from Purikā.

Seṭaka cannot be equated with Pāli *Śetaka* or Sk. *Śvetaka*, as considered possible by Barua-Sinha, but was correctly derived by Hultzsch from Sk. *Śreshṭhaka*. In case of the latter equation to which Barua-Sinha do not categorically object they propose that the name 'may be taken to mean a dignitary, a man of substance, or a banker, it being=Bengali *Śeṭ* or *Śeṭh*.'

A 19 (837); PLATE IV

ON a rail-bar,[2] now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 33).[3] Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 22, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol XL (1886), p. 72, No. 117, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 117; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 21, No. 72.

TEXT:

Purikayā Idadevāya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Idadevā[4] (*Indradevā*) from Purikā.

A 20 (839); PLATE IV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 24; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 119, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 119; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 21, No. 74.

TEXT:

Purikāyā Sāmāya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Sāmā (*Śyāmā*)[5] from Purikā.

(e) A 21-22 Inhabitants of Bibikanadikaṭa

A 21 (725); PLATE IV

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 6).

[1] See classfication II, 3 a (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth).

[2] It seems that the heading 'S. W. Quadrant' Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 140, and Plate LV does not apply to the rest of the rail-bar inscriptions Nos. 837-884 in my *List*. (Regarding the numbers in this edition see the concordance on p. 182.)

[3] or C. B. 41 ?

[4] The name Idadevā—cf. classification I, 3, b (names referring to vedic deities)—reoccurs (A 45) as an inhabitant of Nandinagara.

[5] See classification II, 1, b (names derived from appearance of the body).

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 14, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 33, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 33; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8, No. 13.

TEXT:

1 Bibikanadikaṭa[1] Budhino gahapatino
2 dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the householder Budhi (*Buddhi*)[2] from Bibikanadikaṭa (*Bimbikānadīkaṭa* ?).

Buddhi, spelt both Buddhi and Budhi, is a common name at this time, and Barua-Sinha's correction to Bodhi is quite unnecessary. The name of the place is probably correctly explained by Barua-Sinha as containing the name of a river Bimbikānadī, not yet identified.

A 22 (728); PLATE IV

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 26). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 17, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 36, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 36, Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8, No. 15, also p. 84, No. 197; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 104 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXVI (21-24).

TEXT:

1 Bībikanadikaṭa Suladhasa asavārikā-
2 sa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the horseman Suladha (*Suladbha*)[3] from Bībikanadikaṭa (*Bimbikānadīkaṭa* ?).

The upper half medallion of the pillar dedicated by Suladdha shows a fully accoutred riding horse led by the bridle by a man whose clothing consists only in a short garment tied round his waist, while another man clad in the same fashion and holding a spear in his right hand appears at the horse's tail. It is quite possible that Suladdha had the pillar decorated with a horse attended by a groom and a soldier with regard to his own profession, but I cannot agree with Barua's opinion that the medallion illustrates the story of the Valāha horse either in the version of the Jātaka (No. 196) or in that of the *Divy.* (p. 120). The horse is certainly not represented as flying, the man behind does not seem to be tied to the horse's tail, and the strange idea that the artist has represented the horse's gift of human speech by the human figure in front will probably meet with little approval.

(f) A 23—24 Inhabitants of Bhojakaṭa

A 23 (861)[4]; PLATE IV

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.*

[1] Both Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha read *Bibikānadikaṭa,* but the *ka* has no *ā*-sign.
[2] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names). The name could also correspond to *Budhin* and refer to the planet *Budha.*
[3] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from birth).
[4] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

(1879), p. 141, No. 46, and Pl. LVI; mentioned by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 27, No. 96.

TEXT:

Agirakhitasa[1] Bhojakaṭakasa suchi dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

A rail, the gift of Agirakhita (*Agnirakshita*)[2], the Bhojakaṭaka (inhabitant of *Bhojakaṭa*).

Ramprasad Chanda first read the name of the donor correctly. Before him it was read *Atankhata* (Cunningham), *Atantata* (Hultzsch, Lüders) or *Atanata* (Barua-Sinha).

A 24 (723); Plate IV

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 21). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 12, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 31, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 31; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 7, No. 12.

TEXT:

Bhojakaṭakāya Diganagay[e][3] bhichhuniya[4] dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun Diganagā (*Diṅnāgā*),[5] the Bhojakaṭakā (inhabitant of *Bhojakaṭa*).

(g) A 25—29 Inhabitants of Moragiri

A 25 (798); PLATE V

ON a pillar of the North-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 4). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 86, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 96, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 96; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 40.

TEXT:

Moragirimhā Thupadāsāsa[6] dānaṁ thabhā

TRANSLATION:

Pillars, the gift of Thupadāsa (*Stūpadāsa*)[7] from Moragiri (*Mayūragiri*).

Thabhā may be a clerical error for *thabho*, but it occurs again in No. A 27 and A 29, and as all three inscriptions record gifts of persons from Moragiri, it is not improbable that

[1] *khi* has been inserted underneath the akshara *ra*.
[2] See classification I, 3, a (names referring to vedic deities).
[3] The *e*-sign is not quite distinct, but probable.
[4] Barua-Sinha wrongly: *bhichhuniyā*.
[5] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[6] Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha: *Thupadāsasa*, but the fifth *akshara* is distinctly *sā*.
[7] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

the three donors had joined to bear the expenses of several pillars and that for this reason the plural is used in the inscription.

A 26 (808); Plate XXIV

On a pillar, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 95, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17, No. 45.

Text:

Moragirami Jātamitasa dānaṁ[1]

Translation:

The gift of Jātamita (? *Jitāmitra* ?)[2] from Moragiri (*Mayūragiri*).

A 27 (796); Plate V

On a pillar of the North-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 22). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 84, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 94, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 94; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 15, No. 38.

Text:

Moragirimhā Pusāyā dānaṁ thabhā[3]

Translation:

Pillars, the gift of Pusā (*Pushyā*)[4] from Moragiri (*Mayūragiri*).

A 28 (860);[5] Plate V

Rail inscription. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 45 and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 138, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 138; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 27, No. 95.

Text:

Moragirimā[6] Ghāṭila-matu dānaṁ

Translation:

Gift of the mother of Ghāṭila[7] from Moragiri (*Mayūragiri*).

[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The transcript has *Moragiri* and *Jitamitasa*. *Moragirami* is evidently a mistake for *Moragirima* or *Moragirimha*. *Jātamitasa* may be a mistake for *Jitamitasa* ('one who subdued his friend') or better *Jitāmitasa* ('one who defeated his enemy'), but in the eye-copy the first *akshara* is distinctly *jā*.

[2] Under the assumption that Jitāmitra has to be understood, the name has been classified II, 3, a (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth).

[3] For *thabhā* see the remark on A 25.

[4] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).

[5] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[6] This is probably a clerical mistake for Moragirimhā to be found in A 25, A 27, A 29. The defective spelling also appears in Moragirami (A 26).

[7] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from appearance of the body). It has been assumed, that *ghāṭa* and *ghāṭaka* are used in the meaning of "nape or back of the neck".

A 29 (778); Plate V

On a pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 8). The inscription is engraved over a medallion followed by the inscription No. B 13. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 67, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 81 (first part), and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 81 (first part); Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V, No. 4; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 13, No. 31.

Text:

Moragirimha Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṁ thabhā[1]

Translation:

Pillars, the gift of the nun Nāgilā[2] from Moragiri (*Mayūragiri*).

(h) A 30-35 Inhabitants of Vedisa[3]

A 30 (780); Plate V

On a pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 20). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 69, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 82, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 82; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 14, No. 32.

Text:

Vedis[ā] Phagudevasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Phagudeva (*Phalgudeva*)[4] from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

A 31 (835); Plate V

On a rail-bar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 26). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 20, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 116, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 116; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 70.

Text:

Vedisāto Bhutarakhitasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhūtarakshita*)[5] from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

[1] For *thabhā* see the remark on A 25. From the estampage it appears that the word *thabhā* is inscribed on a surface different from that of the rest of the inscription.

[2] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities), and p. XXVIII (suffix *-ilā*). For the formation of this name Hultzsch refers to *Pāṇini* 5, 3, 84, and *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 551, No. 5, note 2.

[3] The fragmentary inscription No. A 135 refers possibly also to some inhabitant from Vedisa.

[4] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).

[5] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).

A 32 (784); Plates VI, XLI

On a pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 9). The inscription is engraved over a medallion just above the inscription B 49. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 73, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 85 (first part), and Pl, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 85 (first part); Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, No. 5, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 14, No. 34.

Text:

Vedisā Anurādhāya dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Anurādhā[1] from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

A 33 (813); Plate XXIV

On a pillar, now at Pataora. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 100, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17, No. 48.

Text:

Vedisa Ayamāyā dānaṁ[2]

Translation:

The gift of Ayamā (*Aryamā*)[3] from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

A 34 (712); Plates VI, XXVII

On the corner pillar of the railing of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 11). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 1, and Pl. XII and LIII, Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 22, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 22; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 3 f., No. 4.

Text:

Vedisā Chāpadevāyā[4] Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhamathabho[5] dānaṁ

Translation:

The first pillar (is) the gift of Chāpadevā,[6] the wife of Revatimita (*Revatīmitra*),[7] from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

A 35 (885)[8]; Plate XXIV

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 1, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 35, No. 120.

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[1] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).
[2] From Cunningham's eye-copy.
[3] See classification I, 3, b (names referring to vedic deities).
[4] Barua-Sinha wrongly read *–devāya.*
[5] Barua-Sinha wrongly read *pathamo.*
[6] See classification I, 2, C, b (names derived from sign of zodiac).
[7] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).
[8] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

TEXT:

Vedisā Vāsiṭhiya Velimi[tāyā][1]

TRANSLATION:

[Gift] of Velimi[tā] (*Vellimitrā*),[2] the Vāsiṭhī (*Vāsishṭhī*), from Vedisa (*Vaidiśa*).

As Cunningham's eye-copy shows, the right portion of the inscription, containing at least the word *dānaṁ*, has broken away. Barua-Sinha give a restoration adding *Velimi(ta-bhāriyāya dānaṁ)*.[3] Accordingly their translation is: The gift of Vāsishṭhī, the wife of Veṇimitra (sic), from Vidiśā. It is, however, more probable that *Vāsishṭhī* is a surname indicating the *gotra* of the woman mentioned as donor, cf. Pāli *Vāseṭṭhī*, *Vāseṭṭha*, *Vāsiṭṭha*.

(i) A 36-54 Inhabitants of various places mentioned only once

A 36 (877)[4]; PLATE XXIV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 62, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 111.

TEXT:

Asitamasāya Valamitasa dānam[5].

TRANSLATION:

Gift of Valamita (*Valamitra*)[6] from Asitamasā.

A 37 (817); PLATE VI

ON a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 51). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 3, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 101, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 101; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, No. 19, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 18, No. 51.

TEXT:

Kākaṁdiya Somāya bhichhuniya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun Somā[7] from Kākaṁdi (*Kākandī*).

A 38 (713); PLATES VI, XXXIII

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P. 12). The inscription is engraved over a medallion. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879),

[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy.
[2] See classification II, 4, b (names derived from plants).
[3] For the completion of our inscription by adding a fragment see No. A 125.
[4] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[5] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The inscription has recently been recovered and is now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.
[6] See classification I, 4, a, 6 (Vaishnavite names).
[7] See classification I, 3, b (names referring to vedic deities).

p. 132, No. 2, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 23, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 23; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 4 ff., No. 5.

TEXT:

bhadaṁtāsa[1] aya-Bhutārakhit[ā]sa[2] Khujatidukiyasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the *bhadanta*, the venerable Bhutārakhita (*Bhūtarakshita*),[3] the Khujatidukiya (inhabitant of *Kubjatinduka* ?).

A 39 (789); PLATES VI, XXXII

ON a pillar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 31). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 77, and Pl. XXIII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 88, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 88; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 14, No. 36.

TEXT:

bhadata-Kanakasa bhanakasa thabho dānaṁ Chikulaniyasa

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the reverend Kanaka (*Kṛishṇaka* ?),[4] the reciter, the Chikulaniya (inhabitant of *Chikulana*).

As regards the name of the place cf. No. A 40. *Kanakasa* (cf. Kanikā in *List* No. 1202 and 1203) may be defective writing for *Kanhakasa*; cf. *Moragirimā* for *Moragirimhā* in No. A 28. A donor's name *Kanhila* occurs in No. A 63.

A 40 (759); PLATES VII, XXXIII

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 7). The inscription is engraved over a medallion, followed by the inscription No. B 17. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 48, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 64 (first part), and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 64 (first part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 21.

TEXT:

Chekulana Saghamitasa[5] thabho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of Saghamita (*Saṅghamitra*)[6] from Chekulana.

The adjective *Chikulaniya* in No. A 39 proves that the name of the place was *Chekulana* or *Chikulana*, not *Chikula* as supposed by Barua-Sinha.

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[1] The third *akshara* is distinctly *tā*.
[2] The *ā*-sign of the first *tā* is distinct, of the second *tā* only probable.
[3] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[4] See classification I, 4, a, 6 (Vaishnavite names) and special note.
[5] It is not impossible that there was an *anusvāra* after the first *sa*.
[6] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

A 41 (858)[1]; Plate VII

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 43, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 136, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 136; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 26, No. 93.

Text:

bhadata-Samikasa Therāk[ū]ṭiyasa[2] dānaṁ

Translation:

Gift of the reverend Samika (*Svāmika*),[3] the inhabitant of Therākūṭa (*Sthavirākūṭa*).

Hultzsch took Samika and Therākūṭa as names of two donors, and Lüders in his *List* was the first to explain the word Therākūṭiya as ' inhabitant of Therākūṭa '. Lüders, however, followed Hultzsch at that time, when taking Samika as the equivalent of Sk. *Śyāmaka*, apparently regarding *Samika* as an error for *Samaka* recurring in A 66 in *bhadata-Samaka*. In A 6 where Samika is the name of a lay-donor Lüders explains it by *Svāmika* (as already *List* No. 244), and in view of the fact that there is no marked difference in naming laymen and Buddhist clergymen there is no reason why *Svāmika* should not be the name of a *bhadanta*. The explanation of *Samika* by *śamīka* (Barua-Sinha) needs no discussion.

A 42 (718); Plate VII

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 15). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 7, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 27, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 27; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, No. 12, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 6 f., No. 8.

Text:

1 Dabhinikāya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhika-
2 ya bhichhuniya dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of the nun Badhikā (*Baddhikā*),[4] the daughter of Mahamukhi (*Mahāmukhin*),[5] the Dabhinikā (inhabitant of *Darbhiṇa* ?).

Hultzsch's suggestion accepted by Barua-Sinha that *Badhikaya* might be a clerical mistake for *Bodhikaya* is wrong. *Badhikā* is the female name corresponding to *Badhaka* occurring as the name of two different monks in the Sāñchī inscriptions, *List* Nos. 484 and 633. The Sanskrit equivalent of *Mahamukhisa* is hardly *Mahāmukhyasya* as assumed by Barua-Sinha. Female adjectives are frequently formed from names of places with the suffix *-ikā*. The name of the place must therefore be *Dabhina*, in Sanskrit perhaps *Darbhiṇa*, but not *Darbha*[6] as stated by Barua-Sinha. A parallel place-name is Dharakina in the Sāñchī inscription, *List* No. 259.

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[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[2] The *ū* in the akshara *kū* is not quite distinct; it could also be read *u*.
[3] See classification I, 4, a, 5 (Śaivite names).
[4] See classification II, 2, b (names derived from mental disposition and temperament). We take Baddhikā characterising a female ' bound to ' worldly desires.
[5] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from parts of the body).
[6] According to Barua-Sinha, in the Brahmāṇḍa- and a few other Purāṇas *Darva* or *Darbha* is mentioned as a country on the hills.

A 43 (806); Plate XXIV

Fragmentary inscription on a pillar, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 93, and Pl. LV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 43.

Text:

Pusadataye Nagarikaya bhichhuniye[1] . . . .

Translation:

(The gift) of the nun Pusadatā (*Pushyadattā*),[2] the Nagarikā (inhabitant of *Nagara*).

As regards the restoration suggested by Barua-Sinha, see the note on No. A 124.

A 44 (806 a)[3]; Plate XXVIII

Incised near the representation of an acrobatic scene on a fragment of a pillar from Nagaudh State in Central India, now belonging to the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2915). Edited by Dines Chandra Sircar, *JRASB.*, Letters Vol. XIV, 1948, p. 113 f.; *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), pp. 57 f.; Kala, *BhV.* (1951), p. 30, and Pl. 1; an illustration of the fragment of the pillar is also given by Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India through the Ages* (1954), Pl. 17.

Text:

Pusadataye Nāgarikāye bhikhuniye[4]

Translation:

(The gift) of the nun Pusadatā (*Pushyadattā*),[2] the Nāgarikā (inhabitant of *Nagara*).

This inscription first published by Mr. Sircar in 1948 is very similar to A 43. The differences are that in A 43 we read *Nagarikaya bhichhuniye* whereas the present inscription, according to Mr. Sircar, has *Nāgarikāye bhikhuniye.*[5] Mr. Sircar first read a doubtful *sa* at the end of the inscription, perhaps because he accepted the combination of A 43 and A 124, following a suggestion made by Barua-Sinha but rejected by Lüders under A 124. In his second article Dr. Sircar came to the conclusion that the epigraph ends with the word *bhikhuniye* and translated the record: "(The gift) of Pushyadattā, the nun of the city."

A 45 (852); Plate VII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 48). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 37, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 132, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 132; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 24, No. 87.

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[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy. His transcript has *Nagarikaye*. Supply *dānaṁ* at the end.

[2] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).

[3] Lüders, of course, had no knowledge of this new discovery. A 43 and A 44, both mentioning the place name Nagara, were for a time-a rubbing not being available-considered to be identical, otherwise they would have been inserted after A 12.

[4] As read by Mr. Sircar in his second article. Possibly the inscription has *Nagarikaya* as in A 43.

[5] Note, however, that in our inscriptions the genitive sg.*-ye* is found elsewhere with the base *bhichhunī* and not with *bhikhunī*, see § 29 (III).

TEXT:

Na[ṁ]d[i]nagarikaya Idadevāya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Idadevā (*Indradevā*)[1], the Naṁdinagarikā (inhabitant of *Nandinagara*).

A 46 (799); PLATE XXIV

ON a pillar of the North-Eastern quadrant. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 87, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 255 (refers only to the name of the place); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 41.

TEXT:

1 Nāsika Gorakhitiya thabho dānaṁ
2 Vasukasa bhāriyaya[2]

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of Gorakhitā (*Gorakshitā*)[3] from Nāsika; (of Gorakhitā) the wife of Vasuka.[4]

A 47 (876)[5]; PLATE XXIV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 61., and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 110.

TEXT:

Paḍelakasa Pusakasa suchi dānaṁ[6]

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*),[7] the Paḍelaka (inhabitant of *Paḍela*).[8]

A 48 (878)[9]; PLATE XXIV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 63, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 112.

TEXT:

[Pa]rakaṭ[i]kaya Sirimāyā dānaṁ[10]

[1] See classification I, 3, b(names referring to vedic deities). In A 19 the name recurs as that of an inhabitant of Purikā.

[2] This is the reading of Cunningham's eye-copy. In his transcript Cunningham reads *gorakhitaya* which appears to be the correct reading, and *bhāriyāya*. Nāsika stands for Nāsikā.

[3] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).

[4] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from wealth.)

[5] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[6] From the eye-copy of Cunningham.

[7] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).

[8] Barua-Sinha translate *Paḍelaka* as 'the man of Pāṇḍya' (?) which seems to be unfounded.

[9] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[10] From the eye-copy of Cunningham.

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Sirimā (*Srīmatī*)[1], the Parakaṭikā (inhabitant of *Parakaṭa*).

A 49 (836); PLATE XXIV

ON a rail-bar of the South-Western quadrant. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 21, and Pl. LV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 21, No. 71.

TEXT:

Golāyā Pārikiniyā dānaṁ[2]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Golā,[3] the Pārikinī (inhabitant of *Parikina*).

Barua-Sinha, following Cunningham, translate the inscription: 'The gift of Pārikiṇī from Golā'. As the epithet indicating the native place of the donor is placed sometimes before and sometimes after the personal name, and as *Golā* occurs as a female name in the Sāñchī inscription *List* No. 596, there can be no doubt that here also *Golā* is the personal name. *Pārikinī* then is probably derived from the name of a place. With *Parikina* may be compared *Dharakina* in No. 259 of my *List* and *Dabhina*, from which *Dabhinikā* is derived in No. A 42.

A 49a; Plate XXXIX

ON a pillar, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2914); inscribed below the inscription No. B 31a. Edited by Kala, *BhV.* (1951), p. 31; Sircar, *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), p. 59.

TEXT:

Tis[ā]yā Benākaṭikāya dān[ā][4]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Tisā (*Tishyā*), the Benākaṭikā (inhabitant of *Benākaṭa*)[5].

A 50 (721); PLATE VII

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 6510).[6] Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 10, and Pl. LIII; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 7, No. 11.

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[1] See classification I, 4, b, 3 (names derived from minor deities).

[2] From Cunningham's eye-copy which agrees with his transcript.

[3] See classification II, 1, b (names derived from appearance of the body).

[4] *dān[ā]* may be a mistake for *dāna* = *dānaṁ*. The final anusvāra is sometimes not represented, see above § 25 (ii). It is hardly believable that *dānā* has been used in the plural number for *dānāni*.

[5] Benākaṭa is a place-name ending in *kaṭa* like others mentioned above p. 7. In a Nāsik Buddhist Cave inscription, *List* No. 1125, we find Gotamiputa Siri-Sadakaṇi (*Gautamīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi*) called "lord (*svāmin*) of Benākaṭaka of Govadhana (*Govardhana*)". According to Bimala Churn Law (*Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris [1954], p. 301, s. v. *Veṇākaṭaka*) the place was situated on the Veṇva river in the Nasik district. Nundo Lal Dey (*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd ed. 1927, p. 29) mentions "Benakataka" as "Warangal, the capital of Teliṅgana or Andhra"; l.c. p. 28 he gives "Bena" as "the river Wain-Gaṅgā in the Central Provinces", "a tributary of the Godāvarī".

[6] See *ASI.AR.*, 1925/26, p. 148, Note 1, and p. 297, No. 48.

TEXT:

1 Baha[ḍa]to Ja[hira]natuno[1] Isi–[2]
2 rakhitaputasa Anaṁdasa thabho

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is the gift of) Anaṁda (*Ānanda*)[3], the son of Isirakhita (*Ṛishirakshita*)[4], the grandson of Jahira (?)[5] from Bahaḍa (?).

With *Bahaḍato* compare *Vedisāto* in No. A 31. Barua-Sinha proposed to correct the first three words to *Bahaḍagojaṭirasa dānaṁ*, but the reading given above is absolutely certain as far as *natuno* is concerned. The names of the place and of the grandfather of the donor are not quite reliable, but the geographical name Bahaḍagojaṭira may be cancelled.

A 51 (797); PLATE VIII

ON a pillar of the North-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 19). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 85, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, (1886), Vol. XL, p. 70, No. 95, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 95; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 15, No. 39.

TEXT:

1 aya-Chulasa sutaṁtikasa Bhogavaḍha-[6]
2 niyasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the venerable Chula (*Kshudra*),[7] the student of the Sūtrāntas,[8] the Bhogavaḍhaniya (inhabitant of *Bhogavardhana*).

A 52 (764); PLATE XXIV

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 53, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 225 (mentions only the name *Kosabeyekā*); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 12, No. 25.

TEXT:

1 Kosabeyekaya bhikhuniya
2 Venuvagimiyāya Dhamārakhitā-
3 yā dānaṁ[9]

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[1] Barua-Sinha read *Bahaḍagojaṭiranatana.* The bracketed letters are blurred and doubtful, but *hi* is more probable than *ṭi.* The fourth *akshara* is distinctly *to,* not *go.* The last two *aksharas* are clearly *tuno.*

[2] The second *akshara* is distinctly *si.*

[3] See classification II, 2, a (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).

[4] See classification I, 4, a, 3 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).

[5] The name has remained unclassified.

[6] *bho* has also the *u*-sign.

[7] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from appearance of the body).

[8] The term *suttaṁtika* of course refers to the study of the Suttapiṭaka, cf. *PTSD.* sub voce, Rhys Davids-Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts,* Part I, p. XXX (SBE. XIII). The school of the Sautrāntikas, thought of by Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha, did not arise before the beginning of the third century A.D. In Barua's later work (*Barh.* I, p. 46) the translation is "well-versed in the Sūtras". The corresponding *sutātika* in Sāñchī (*List* No. 635) is translated by Majumdar p. 297 'one who is versed in the Suttantas'. A nun versed in the sūtras is called *sūtātikinī* (*sautrāntikinī*) *List* Nr. 319, 352 (Sāñchī).

[9] This is the reading of Cunningham's eye-copy. His transcript reads: *Kosambeyekaya bhikhuniya Venuvagāmiyāya Dhama Rakhita.* The correct reading appears to be: *Kosabeyikaya* (or *Kosaṁbeyikaya*) *bhikhuniya Venuvagāmiyāya Dhamarakhitāyā dānaṁ.*

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*),[1] the Kosabeyikā (native of *Kauśāmbī*), the Venuvagāmiyā (inhabitant of *Veṇukagrāma*).

A 53 (859)[2]; PLATE VIII

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 44, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 137, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 137; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 27, No. 94.

TEXT:

Sirisapada Isirakhitāya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Isirakhitā (*Ṛishirakshitā*)[3] from Sirisapada (*Śirīshapadra*).

A 54 (804); PLATE XXIV

ON a pillar, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 91, and Pl. LV; mentioned by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 59, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892) p. 225; re-edited by Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 44.

TEXT:

1 Nadagirino bhānakasa Selapuraka-
2 sa thabho dānaṁ[4]

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of Nadagiri (*Nandagiri*)[5], the reciter, the Selapuraka (inhabitant of *Śailapura*).

A person of the name of Naṁdagiri is mentioned as a donor in No. A 97; cf. also No. A 69, where the venerable Naṁda . . . is referred to.

A 54a; PLATE XXVIII

ON a pillar, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2918). Edited by Kala, *BhV.* (1951), p. 22; Sircar, *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), p. 58.

TEXT:

. . . . girino bhānakasa bhātu . .

TRANSLATION:

(The gift) of . . . ., the brother of (Nada)giri, the reciter.

The reciter whose name ended with the word *giri* is probably Nadagiri (*Nandagiri*),

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[1] See classification I, 1, b (Buddhist names).
[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[3] See classification I, 4, b, 2 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).
[4] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The transcript has *Nandagirino* and omits the *sa* of *Selapurakasa*.
[5] See classification II, 2, a (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).

donor of a pillar, mentioned in the inscription A 54. For *bhātu* cf. *matu, dhitu* p. XXVII (§ 33). In A 50 the Gen. sg. of *naptṛ* is *natuno*. It is, however, impossible to read the traces of the *akshara* following *bhātu* as *no*. The *akshara* may have been *pa* or *ha* as Dr. Sircar has suggested, and represent the initial consonant of the name of the donor.

A 54b; Plate XXVII

On a rail-bar, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2972). Edited by Kala, *BhV.* (1951), p. 33; Sircar, *EI.*, XXXIII (1959/60), p. 58.

Text:

[Na]garakhitasa cha mātu cha Kamuchukaye dānaṁ.

Translation:

Gift of Nagarakhita (*Nāgarakshita*) as well as of (his) mother[1], the Kamuchukā (inhabitant of *Kamuchu* ?)[2].

Similarly it is recorded in No. A 96b that the mother of Gośāla shared with her son in the expenses of a rail-bar.

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[1] Cf. A 18, A 28, A 120.

[2] Dr. Kala regards *Kamuchukā* as the name of the mother, whereas Dr. Sircar reads the second part of the inscription: *cha mātu Chakamuchukaye dānaṁ* "and (his) mother Chakramochikā". He notes: "The word *cha* possibly suggests that the present epigraph was the second of a set of two inscriptions, the first recording a gift of Nāgarakshita, while the inscription under study records only the gift of his mother."

3. A 55 DONATION BY A SCULPTOR (WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE NATIVE PLACE)[1]

A 55 (857)[2]; PLATE VIII

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 42, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 135, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 135; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 26, No. 92.

TEXT:

Budharakhitasa rupakārakasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*),[3] the sculptor.

The name *Budharakhita* is found as that of a monk in A 57 and A 58.

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[1] For donors following certain professions mentioned with reference to their native place see No. A 17 (*bhatudesaka*) and A 22 (*asavārika*). In A 21 a donor is specified as *gahapati*.

[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[3] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

4. A 56 - 73 DONATIONS BY MONKS[1]

(a) A 56 - 63 Monks having specific church titles[2]

A 56 (856)[3]; Plate VIII

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 40, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 134, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 134; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 24 ff., No. 91; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 174 f.

Text:

aya-Jātasa peṭakino suchi dānaṁ

Translation:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of the venerable (*ārya*) Jāta,[4] who knows the Piṭakas.

A 57 (867)[5]; Plate VIII

Rail inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 52, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 144, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 144; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 28, No. 101; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 175 f.

Text:

Budharakhitasa pa[ṁ]cha-nekāyikasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*),[6] who knows the five nikāyas.

The attribute *paṁchanekāyika* is given to the monk Devagiri in the Sāñchī-inscription *List* No. 229. The name Budharakhita is common in inscriptions and reoccurs in A 55 and 58. In our inscription it is of course the name of a monk, not of a lay-man as suggested by Barua, *JPASB.*, New Ser. XIX, p. 358, and *Barh.* Vol. I, p. 46, although he is not expressly called a bhikkhu.

A 58 (792); Plates IX, XXIX

Together with Nos. B 1-3 on the inner face of the terminus corner pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 5). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 80, and Pl. XXII and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886),

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[1] For donations by monks mentioned as inhabitants of certain places see No. A 8, A 17, A 38, A 39, A 41, A 51, A 54.

[2] On the general importance of some of the church titles (*peṭakin*, *paṁchanekāyika*, *bhānaka*) cf. below p. 71 and notes. For monks having church titles mentioned with reference to their native place see No. A 51 (*sutaṁtika*), A 39 and A 54 (*bhānaka*).

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[4] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from birth).

[5] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[6] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

p. 70, No. 90, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 90; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 15, No. 37.

TEXT:

1 bhadata-Budharakhitasa saṭupadāna-
2 sa dānaṁ thabho

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the reverend Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*)[1] who has abandoned attachment.

The meaning of *saṭupadāna* has not yet been ascertained. It does not seem to be a proper name, but rather denotes some clerical dignitary. Hultzsch hesitatingly traced it back to Sk. *śāstropādāna* and translated it 'who is versed in sciences', but although *saṭa* may stand for *saṭṭha*, it is very improbable that the *stra* of *śāstra* should develop into lingual *ṭha*. Nor do I understand how *upādāna* could possibly have been used as an adjective. Barua-Sinha take *saṭupadāna* as 'a monumental Prakrit counterpart of the Pāli *Satipaṭṭhāna* or *Satipaṭṭhānika* and the Sanskrit *Smṛaityupasthāna* or *Smṛaityupasthānika*' (sic). I consider it unnecessary to discuss this explanation. In my opinion *saṭupadāna* is an imperfect spelling for *saṭṭupādāna*=Sk. *sṛishṭopādāna*, 'who has abandoned attachment'. With *saṭṭa* for *saṭṭha* we may compare participles such as *maṭṭa*=Sk. *mṛishṭa* (*D.* II, 133), *saṁtatta*=Sk. *saṁtrasta* (*J.* 322, 2), and with the whole term *samavasaṭṭhesana*[2], 'one who has completely abandoned longing' (*D.* III, 269; A. II, 41), and *anupādāna* 'free from attachment' or 'clinging to existence', frequently used of an Arhat.

A 59 (773); PLATES IX, XXXIV

ON the left outer face of the return corner pillar of the Western gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 3). The inscription is engraved on the left hand pilaster of the middle relief (see also Nos. B 21, B 22, B 40). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 136, No. 62, and Pl. XVI and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.*, Vol XI (1882), p. 29, No. 24; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 76, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 76; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 13, No. 30.

TEXT:

bhadatasa aya-Isipālitasa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the reverend, the venerable Isipālita (*Ṛishipālita*)[3], the reciter and superintendent of the works.

A 60 (787); PLATE IX

FRAGMENTARY inscription on the right outer face of the same pillar as No. B 55, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 28). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), Pl. XIX (Pl. only);

[1] See classification I, 1_1, a (Buddhist names).

[2] That this is the correct reading has been shown by Kern, *Toev.* II, 56; cf. *esanā paṭinissaṭṭhā* A. II, 42.

[3] See classification I, 4, a, 3 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).

Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 76, No. 154, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 154; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 14, No. 35.

TEXT:

. . . . . [m]ika[sa dānaṁ]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of . . . . . . mika.

The inscription seems to have consisted of about 16 *aksharas*, and it is possible that it recorded the gift of the venerable Isipālita, the superintendent of the works (*aya-Isipālitasa navakamikasa dānaṁ*), just as the inscription on the corner pillar of the Western gate, see A 59. But the restoration must be taken for what it is worth.

A 61 (762); PLATE IX

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 23). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 51, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 66, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 66; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 23.

TEXT:

bhadaṁta-Valakasa bhanakasa[1] dāna[ṁ][2] thabho

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the reverend Valaka,[3] the reciter.

A 62 (738); PLATE IX

ON the return terminus pillar of the Southern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the left of the middle relief of the inner face. On the same pillar we find the inscriptions Nos. B 23-31, B 36-39, B 60-61, B 70-72. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 27, and Pl. XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.*, Vol. X (1881), p. 259, No. 17, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 45, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 45; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. 1 (1919), p. 20, No. 14, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8 ff., No. 18.

TEXT:

aya-Isidinasa[4] bhānakasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the venerable Isidina (*Ṛishidatta*),[5] the reciter.

---

[1] Barua-Sinha: *bhānakasa*, but the *bha* seems to have no *ā*-sign.
[2] Hultzsch: *dāna*. The *anusvāra* is probable.
[3] See classification I, 4, a, 6 (Vaishnavite names).
[4] As observed by Hoernle, there is a hook or angle to the left of the *sa*, but I doubt that it has any meaning.
[5] See classification I, 4, a, 3 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).

Three sides of the pillar are decked with sculptures. Each face has three reliefs marked at the bottom by a railing and flanked, the uppermost by a palm-tree, and the lower ones by octagonal pillars with bell-shaped capitals. As this inscription is the only donative inscription on the pillar, it probably refers to the gift of the whole pillar, although the object of the donation is not stated.

A 63 (833); Plate XXV

On a rail-bar of the Southern gate. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 18, and Pl. LV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 68.

Text:

Kanhilasa bhānakasa dānaṁ[1]

Translation:

The gift of Kanhila (*Kṛishṇala*),[2] the reciter.

b A 64-73 Monks called bhadanta or aya[3]

A 64 (850); Plate IX

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 18). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 35, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 130, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 130; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 85.

Text:

bhadata-Devasenasa dānaṁ[4]

Translation:

The gift of the reverend Devasena.[5]

A 65 (766); Plates IX, XXXI

On a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 30). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 136, No. 55, and Pl. XXXII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 69, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 69; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, No. 11, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 12, No. 26.

Text:

bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṁ

---

[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy which agrees with his transcript.

[2] See classification I, 4, a, 6 (Vaishnavite names).

[3] Monks are also called *bhadanta* or *aya* when (a) their native place is mentioned and (b) specific church titles are given. For (a) see No. A 38 (*bhadaṁta aya*), A 41 (*bhadaṁta*), A 8 (*aya*); for (b) see A 39, A 58, A 59, A 61 (*bhadaṁta*), A 51, A 56, A 59, A 62 (*aya*).

[4] Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha *donaṁ*. The horizontal stroke to the left of *dā* which gives the *akshara* the appearance of *do* is much thinner than the *ā*-stroke and probably accidental.

[5] See classification I, 4, a, 1 (names referring to deities in general).

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the reverend Mahila.[1]

According to Lüders *Mahila* is probably a shortened form of a compound name such as *Mahipālita* or *Mahirakkhita.* The suffix -(i)la, (i)lā is, however, common in personal names, s. Hilka, l.c. pp. 68 f., and above p. XXVIII on suffixes (9). Barua-Sinha's derivation from *Madhvila* is phonetically impossible, the correction to *Mihila* is unnecessary.

A 66 (768); PLATE IX

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 2), where also B 52 is found. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 136, No. 57, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 71, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 71; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 12, No. 28.

TEXT:

bhadata-Samakasa thabho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the reverend Samaka (*Śyāmaka*)[2].

Samakasa may be a clerical error for *Samikasa*, but it is more probably a defective writing for *Sāmakasa*, as *Sāmaka* occurs as the name of a monk also in A 73, and of different persons in the Nāsik inscription *List* No. 1126 and the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription *List* No. 1337.

A 67 (842); PLATE X

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 22). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 27, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 122, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 122; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. 1 (1919), p. 19, No. 1, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 22, No. 77.

TEXT:

aya-Apikinakasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the venerable Apikinaka (*Apigīrṇaka ?*)[3]

Apikinaka is found again in the form *Aṁpikiṇaka* as the name of a Buddhist monk in the Bhājā inscription, *List* No. 1081; Barua-Sinha's derivation of the name from Sk. *Aprakīrṇa* is quite unlikely.

A 68 (715); PLATE X

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 13). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 4, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol.

[1] See classification I, 4, a, 4 (names derived from minor deities).
[2] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from appearance of the body).
[3] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth). *apigīrṇa* "praised" is attested by lexicographers.

XL (1886), p. 63, No. 25, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 25; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, No. 2, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 6, No. 6.

TEXT:

aya-Gorakhitasa thabho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar is the gift of the venerable Gorakhita (*Gorakshita*).[1]

A 69 (886)[2]; PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 2, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 35, No. 121.

TEXT:

aya-Naṁda[3] . . . . .

TRANSLATION:

(The gift of) the venerable Naṁda (*Nanda*).[4]

A reciter Nadagiri (*Nandagiri*) is mentioned in A 54, and the name Naṁdagiri also occurs in A 97. Nada, Naṁda or Ṇaṁda by itself is found as a personal name in the inscriptions *List* Nos. 289, 1032, 1121, and 1345.

A 70 (690); PLATE X

ON coping-stone No. I, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 130, No. 1, and Pl. XII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 60, No. 2, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 2; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 118.

TEXT:

aya-Nāgadevasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the venerable Nāgadeva.[5]

A 71 (716); PLATES X, XXXII

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 17). The inscription precedes No. B 11. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 5, and Pl. XXIII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 26 (first part), and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 26 (first part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 6, No. 7.

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[1] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[3] From the eye-copy of Cunningham.
[4] See classification II, 2, a (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).
[5] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).

TEXT:

aya-Paṁthakasa thaṁbho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the venerable Paṁthaka (*Panthaka*).[1]

A 72 (831); PLATE X

ON a rail-bar of the Southern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 6). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 16, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 114, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 114; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 66.

TEXT:

aya-Punāvasuno suchi dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of the venerable Punāvasu (*Punarvasu*).[2]

A 73 (800); PLATE X

ON a pillar of the North-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 7). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 88, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 97, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 97; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, No. 6, and Pl.; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 42.

TEXT:

1 Maharasa aṁtevāsino aya-Sāma-
2 kasa thabho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of the venerable Sāmaka (*Śyāmaka*),[3] the pupil of Mahara.[4]

The spelling with the long *ā* in the first syllable proves that Sāmaka is Sk. *Śyāmaka*, not *Śamaka*, as suggested by Barua-Sinha, cf. note on No. A 66. *Maharasa* may be taken as defective spelling for *Mihirasa* as proposed by Barua-Sinha; their tentative equation of *Mahara* with Sk. *Madhvara* is phonetically impossible.

[1] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from birth).
[2] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).
[3] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from appearance of the body).
[4] See classification I, 3 a (names referring to vedic deities).

5. A 74-80 DONATIONS BY NUNS[1]

A 74 (761); Plate XI

On a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 9). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 50, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 65 and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 65; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 22.

Text:

Nāgaye bhichhuniye dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of the nun Nāgā.[2]

A 75 (870)[3]; Plate XI

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 55, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 146, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 146; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 31, No. 104.

Text:

Phagudevāye bhichhuniye dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of the nun Phagudevā (*Phalgudevā*).[4]

A 76 (840); Plate XI

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 25, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 120, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 120; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 21, No. 75.

Text:

Budharakhitāye dānaṁ bhichhuniye

Translation:

The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*).[5]

A 77 (841); Plate XI

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 34). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 26, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 121, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 121; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 22, No. 76.

Text:

Bhutaye bhichhuniye dānaṁ

[1] For nuns mentioned with reference to their native place see No. A 11, A 12, A 24, A 29, A 37, A 42-44, A 52.
[2] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[4] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).
[5] See classification I, 1, b (Buddhist names).

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun Bhutā (*Bhūtā*).[1]

A 78 (815); PLATE XXV

ON a rail-bar of the South-Eastern[2] quadrant. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 1, and Pl. LV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 17, No. 49.

TEXT:

Sapagutaye bhichhuniy[e] dānaṁ[3]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun Sapagutā (*Sarpaguptā*).[4]

A 79 (851); PLATE XI

FRAGMENTARY inscription on a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 36, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 131, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 131; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 86.

TEXT:

.. .. .. kaya bhichhuniya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of the nun .. .. .. kā .

A 80 (772); PLATE XI

ON the same pillar as Nos. B 8 and B 9, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 16). The inscription which is fragmentary is engraved above No. B 9. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 136, No. 61, and Pl. XXII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 75, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 75; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 12 f., No. 29.

TEXT:

1 ......to[5] bhikhuniyā thabho
2 dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of a nun from ......

The syllable *to* is probably the ending of the ablative of a place-name. Barua-Sinha tried to restore the inscription by connecting it with the fragment No. A 126, but their reading *Āvāsikāya bhikhuniyā* is absolutely imaginary, as the letter preceding *bhikhuniyā* can on no account be read *ya*.

[1] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and minor deities).
[2] 'S. W. Quadrant' in the heading of *List* Nos. 815-826 on p. 139 of Cunningham's work is a mistake. The correct 'S. E. Quadrant' is found on Plate LV.
[3] From Cunningham's eye-copy which agrees with his transcript.
[4] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and minor deities).
[5] Cunningham read *ratā*, but the last *akshara* is distinctly *to* and the preceding *akshara* cannot have been *ra*.

6. A 81 - 113 DONATIONS BY MEN (WITHOUT REFERENCE TO NATIVE PLACE OR PROFESSION)[1]

A 81 (824); Plate XI

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 49). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 10, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL(1886),p. 72, No. 108, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 108; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 61.

Text:

Atimutasa danaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Atimuta (*Atimukta*).[2]

A 82 (864)[3]; Plate XI

On a rail-bar, now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 49, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 141, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 141; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 28, No. 99.

Text:

Avisanasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Avisana (*Avishaṇṇa*).[4]

The name of the donor reappears in A 83.

A 83 (865)[3]; Plate XII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 50, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 142, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 142; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 28, No. 99.

Text:

(A)v[i]sanasa[5] dānaṁ

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[1] For donations of men whose native places have been mentioned see No. A 6, A 7, A 13, A 23, A 25, A 26, A 30, A 31, A 36, A 40, A 47, A 50. A few inscriptions referring to men give the profession as well as the native place, cf. No. A 17, A 22; in A 21 the donor is characterized as *gahapati.* A 55 mentions the profession of the male donor, but not the native place.

[2] See classification II, 4, a (names derived from plants).

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[4] See classification II, 2, a (names derived from mental disposition and temperament). Instead of *a-vishaṇṇa* " not sorrowful " the name could also be interpreted as *a-vishāṇa* " not having horns".

[5] *avisanasa* has been read by all previous editors, but our estampage does not bring out any trace of *a* in the beginning, whereas Cunningham's eye-copy shows the *a* clearly.

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Avisana (*Avishaṇṇa*).

The donor is apparently the same as in A 82.

A 84-85 (828-829); PLATE XII

ON a rail-bar of the Southern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 27). The inscription is engraved twice, above and below the medallion. The upper inscription (a) is carved in extremely cursive characters, while the lower inscription (b) is in ornamental script. The lower inscription was edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 14, and Pl. LV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 64. Both inscriptions were edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 151, and p. 72, No. 112, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 151, and p. 236, No. 112. Anderson, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 55, states that there is a third inscription to the same effect on another rail-bar (C.B. 50).

TEXT:

a Isānasa dāna
b Isānasa dāna

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Isāna (*Īśāna*).[1]

A 86 (830); PLATE XII

ON a rail-bar of the Southern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 2). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 15, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 113, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 113; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 65.

TEXT:

Isidatasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Isidata (*Ṛishidatta*).[2]

A 87 (868);[3] PLATE XII

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 53, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 145, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 145; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 30, No. 102.

TEXT:

Isirakhitasa suchi dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Isirakhita (*Ṛishirakshita*).[2]
A donor of the name of *Isirakhita* reoccurs No. A 88 (cf. A 53).

[1] See classification I, 4, a, 5 (Śaivite names).
[2] See classification I, 4, a, 3 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).
[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

A 87a; Plate XXVIII

On a rail-stone, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2967). Edited by Sircar, *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), p. 59.

Text:

. . . [sira]kh[i]tasa thabho dānaṁ

Translation:

The pillar (is) the gift of (I)sirakhita (*Ṛishirakshita*).

A donor, Isirakhita by name, occurs No. A 50, A 87 and A 88. The restoration (I)[si]–remains doubtful[1]. The word *–rakhita* as second part of a compound is very common in personal names[2].

A 88 (848); Plate XII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 45). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 33, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 128, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 128; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 83.

Text:

Isirakhitasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Isirakhita (*Ṛishirakshita*).[3]

A donor of the name of *Isirakhita* also occurs No. A 50 and A 87.

A 89 (832); Plate XXV

On a rail-bar of the Southern gate. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 17, and Pl. LV, and Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 67.

Text:

Gāgamitasa suchi dānaṁ[4]

Translation:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Gāgamitra (*Gaṅgāmitra*).[5]

As stated by Cunningham, the name of the donor may be traced back to *Gaṅgāmitra* or *Gargamitra*, but *Gaṅgāmitra* or, with the usual shortening of the final vowel of the first member of the compound, *Gaṅgamitra* would seem to be the more probable form; cf. *Gagaṁdata* (for *Gaṁgadata*) in the Sāñchī inscription *List* No. 390.

[1] Sircar reads: . . [*ye Ra*]*kh*[*i*]*tasa.*
[2] See classification I, 1–4.
[3] See classification I, 4, a, 3 (names referring to Ṛishi-worship).
[4] From Cunningham's eye-copy which agrees with his transcript.
[5] See classification I, 4, a, 4 (names derived from minor deities).

A 90 (853); Plate XII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 38, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 24, No. 88. There are two inscriptions, one (a) in the ordinary script of the time, and another (b) in thin and badly shaped characters.

Text:

a Gosālasa dānaṁ
b Tosālasa[1] māta[2]

Translation:

a The gift of Gosāla (*Gośāla*).[3]
b Of the mother of [G]osāla (*Gośāla*).

Probably the first inscription is the original one, and the second was added as an afterthought to record that the mother of Gośāla shared in the expenses of the rail-bar.

A 91 (863)[4]; Plate XII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 48, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 140, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 140; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 27, No. 98.

Text:

Chulanasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Chulana.[5]

A 92 (855)[4]; Plate XII

Rail inscription. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 40, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 133, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 133; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 24, No. 90.

Text:

Jeṭhabhadrasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Jeṭhabhadra (*Jyeshṭhabhadra*).[6]

---

[1] There can be little doubt that the engraver wanted to write *Gosālasa*, but the first *akshara* is a plain *to*. The hook on the left of the *sā* is indistinct.
[2] The second *akshara* seems to be *ta*, not *tu*; cf. § 33 (i).
[3] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from birth).
[4] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[5] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from the appearance of the body). Cf. the remarks on *Chula* in A 17.
[6] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).

A 93 (834); Plate XIII

On a rail-bar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 46). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 19, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 115, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 115; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 20, No. 69.

Text:

Devarakhitasa [dānaṁ][1]

Translation:

The gift of Devarakhita (*Devarakshita*).[2]

A 94 (727); Plate XIII

On the opposite side of the same pillar as No. B 7, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 10). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 16, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 35, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 35; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8, No. 14. This side of the pillar is figured in Barua's *Barh.*, Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXVIII (81).

Text:

Dhamagutasa dānaṁ thabho

Translation:

The pillar (is) the gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*).[3]

According to Anderson, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 32, this side of the pillar bears the statue of an Apsaras playing a seven-stringed harp.

A 95 (734); Plate XIII

Together with Nos. B 4-6 on the middle face of the southern terminus pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 1). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 23, and Pl. XXI and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 41, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 41; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8, No. 17.

Text:

Dhamarakhitasa dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).[3]

A 96 (845); Plate XIII

On a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 35). Edited by Cunningham,

[1] The last word which is a little blurred already in Hultzsch's photograph seems to have disappeared now.

[2] See classification I, 4, a, 1 (names referring to deities in general).

[3] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

StBh. (1879), p. 140, No. 30, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 125, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 125; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 22, No. 80.

TEXT:

Dhutasa suchi dāno

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Dhuta (*Dhūrta*).[1]

Barua-Sinha trace *Dhuta* back to Sk. *Dhūta*. I see no reason why it should not go back to Sk. *Dhūrta* as suggested by Hultzsch. The masculine form *dāno* is probably a clerical error.

A 97 (898)[2]: PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 15, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 37, No. 132.

TEXT:

[Naṁ]dagirino dā(naṁ)[3]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Naṁdagiri (*Nandagiri*).[1]

A 'reciter' (*bhānaka*) of the name of *Nadagiri* is mentioned as a donor in No. A 54.

A 98 (729); PLATES XIII, XLI

ON a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P. 14), above the inscription B 47. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 133, No. 18, and Pl. XXV and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 37 (first part), and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 37 (first part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 8, No. 16.

TEXT:

Pusasa thaṁbho dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The pillar (is) the gift of Pusa (*Pushya*)[4].

A 99 (883)[2]; PLATE XIII

BUDDHIST Rail inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 152, and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 152; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 116.

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[1] See classification II, 2, a (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).
[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[3] From the eye-copy of Cunningham.
[4] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).

TEXT:

[Bodhigu]tasa d[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Bodhiguta (*Bodhigupta*)[1].

A 100 (874)[2]; PLATE XIII

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 59, and Pl. XXXI and LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 149, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 149; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (1892), Pl. V (Pl. only); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 108.

TEXT:

Seriyā[3] putasa Bhāranidevasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Bhāranideva (*Bharaṇīdeva*)[4], the son of Serī[5] (*Śrī*).

The earlier editors read Seriyāputa as a compound, but as Seriyā is clearly a genitive sg. of Siri (*Śrī*) we prefer to separate the two words. Barua-Sinha take Seriyāputa as a place-name and translate 'from Śrīputra'. The words indicating the places of origin of the donors, however, are always put in the ablative, and in the genitive only, when a derivative in *-ka* (*-ikā*) or *-iya* is formed from them.

A 101 (847); PLATE XIII

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 127, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 127; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 82.

TEXT:

Mitasa[6] suchi dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Mita (*Mitra*)[7].

The inscription was wrongly identified by Hultzsch with No. A 111.

A 102 (827); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar of the Southern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 10).

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[1] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[3] The *e*-mark of *se* is quite distinct, but the estampage shows also a trace of an *i*-mark. Did the writer add this *i*-mark as a correction? The change of *i* to *e* is observed only in *Kosabeyekā* in No. A 52, where Lüders is inclined to correct the reading of Cunningham's eye-copy to *Kosabeyikā*.

[4] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).

[5] See classification I, 4, b, 3 (names derived from minor deities).

[6] The reading *Mitrasa* seems possible, the right limb of the *ta* being elongated.

[7] See classification I, 3, a (names referring to vedic deities).

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 13, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 111, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 111; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 63.

TEXT:

Muḍasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Muḍa (*Muṇḍa*)[1].

A 103 (873)[2]; PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 58, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 31, No. 107.

TEXT:

Yami[ṭa]sa sā......[3]

TRANSLATION:

(The gift) of Yamiṭa (?)[4]......

A 104 (879)[2]; PLATE XXV

ON a rail-bar, since 1959 in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. The inscription is incised underneath No. B 62. EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 64, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 113.

TEXT:

Vijitakasa suchi dānaṁ[5]

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Vijitaka[6].

A 105 (846); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879),

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[1] See classification II, 1, a (names derived from the appearance of the body).

[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[3] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. Barua-Sinha correct and restore the rest of the inscription as *suchi dānaṁ. sā*, however, is quite distinct in Cunningham's copy.

[4] The translations of Barua-Sinha ' The rail-gift of Yamila', 'The rail-gift of Yamendra' need no discussion. The name has remained unclassified.

[5] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. An inked impression received by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, in September 1959 shows that Cunningham's eye-copy gives the correct reading. In an article prepared for *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60) – kindly made available to us – Dr. Sircar says: "In the word *suchi*, the letter *v* had been originally written for *ch*, though an attempt was later made by the engraver to rectify the error by adding a vertical stroke to the right lower end of *v*. There is a mark at the upper left corner of the letter which, taken with the sign for medial *i*, looks like the medial sign for *ī* as found in slightly later epigraphs. But the mark appears to be due to a flaw in the stone".

[6] See classification II, 3, a (names derived from birth).

p. 140, No. 31, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 126, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 126; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 81.

TEXT:

Yakhilasa suchi dāna

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Yakhila (*Yakshila*)[1].

A 106 (866)[2]; PLATE XIV

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 51, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 143, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 143; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 28, No. 100.

TEXT:

Sa[ṁ]ghamitasa bodhichakasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

(This is) the gift of a wheel of enlightenment (*bodhichakra*)[3] by Saṁghamita (*Saṁghamitra*).

Saghamita or *Saṁghamita* occurs as the name of a donor also in No. A 40 and probably in No. A 107.

A 107 (895)[2]; PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 12, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 37, No. 130.

TEXT:

(Saṁ)ghami(tasa dānaṁ)[4]

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Saṁghamita (*Saṁghamitra*)[5].

For the donor's name cf. No. A 106.

A 108 (844); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 30). Edited by Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 29, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73,

[1] See classification I, 4, a, 2 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).

[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[3] In other cases, where the gift is specified as *suchi*, *thabho*, *thabhā*, the object of donation is put in the nominative. The genitive in *bodhichakasa* is an exception and induced Barua-Sinha to take the word as an epithet used in apposition to *Saṁghamita*, 'characterizing a tendency towards the ideal of Buddhahood'. It is, however, not even evident from the inscription that *Saṁghamita* belonged to the order of monks.

[4] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The fragment consists only of the two letters *gha* and *mi* and a rest of the *akshara* preceding *gha*, not to be clearly deciphered. The restoration is quite conjectural.

[5] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

No. 124, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 124; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 22, No. 79.

TEXT:

Sagharakhitasa m[ā]tāpituna aṭhāyā dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Sagharakhita (*Saṁgharakshita*)[1] for the sake of his parents.

A 109 (843); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 17). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 28, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 123, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 123; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 22, No. 78.

TEXT:

Saghilasa dāna[ṁ] suchi [d][2]...

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Saghila (*Saṁghila*)[1].

A 110 (849); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 29). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 34, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 73, No. 129, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 237, No. 129; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 23, No. 84.

TEXT:

Sirimasa dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Sirima (*Srīmat*)[3].

A 111 (846a); PLATE XIV

ON a rail-bar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 148). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 140, No. 32, and Pl. LVI.

TEXT:

Sihasa suchi dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Siha (*Siṁha*)[4].

---

[1] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).

[2] This letter, the upper part of which is quite distinct, has not been noticed by the previous editors, Perhaps the writer wanted to inscribe *dānaṁ* here, as this word is normally put after the object of donation, but having found that it was written already, he stopped inscribing it.

[3] See classification I, 4, a, 4 (names derived from minor deities).

[4] See classification I, 2, A, c (names derived from signs of zodiac).

A 112 (880)[1]; PLATE XIV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 65, and Pl. XXXI and LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 114, and p. 65, No. 170; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 48 ff.; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 72 f.

TEXT:

1 .....[ka]sa dānaṁ [a]tanā
2 cha [ka]ta

TRANSLATION:

The gift of....... [ka], and made by himself.

The relief containing this inscription (carried away to Uchahara) is a replica of the scene described under B 39. It presents the procession of king Prasenajit of Kosala around the Dharmaśālā erected as a memorial of Buddha's first preaching in the city of Śrāvastī. The edifice, the wheel and the two figures on both sides of the wheel are nearly the same as those in the relief of the southern gate. A stone seat, however, in front of the wheel, on both sides of which a woman is kneeling, is added here. The standing figures are bigger than the representations of the kneeling women and this perhaps characterizes them as gods. In both reliefs a procession moves around the edifice. To the right, a chariot on which two men are standing and which is drawn by two horses is seen. To the left, a man on horse-back rides through the entrance gate. In front of him an elephant goes having a man on its back, shown in side-view in a very clumsy way. The elephant with its trunk gets hold of the branch of a tree hanging above.

On the roof of the edifice stands our inscription, the beginning of which is destroyed. Cunningham read it as ..... *sa dānaṁ Atenā Charata*; Barua-Sinha divide the inscription into a donative inscription and a '*Jātaka label*', and, remembering the words *attanā marantāpi*[2] in the Viḍūḍabhavatthu of the *DhA.*, change the last words of the inscription to *atanā maraṁtā*. They remark, "The recorded scene is apparently that of Viḍūḍabha's invasion of Kapilavastu and non-violent attitude of the Śākyas." For the curious interpretations required to bring this explanation in union with the real depiction in the scene, the reader may look up Barua's work (*Barh.*, II, p. 48 ff.).

The occurrence of the word *dānaṁ* clearly shows that the inscription does not refer to the scene represented in the relief, but that it is only a donative inscription emphasizing that besides paying the cost of the stone the donor himself had carved the relief.

A 113 (893)[3]; PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.*, (1879) p. 143, No. 10, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 36, No. 128.

TEXT:

..tarasa..[4]

TRANSLATION:

(The gift) of......tara (?).

---

[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[2] I, 358: *sammāsambuddhassa pana ñātakā asattughātakā nāma / attanā marantāpi pare jīvitā na voropenti /* "The relations of the completely enlightened one, however, are such who do not kill the enemies. Being put to death themselves, they do not deprive others of their life."

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[4] From the eye-copy of Cunningham; the inscription is quite fragmentary.

7. A 114 - 128 DONATIONS BY WOMEN (WITHOUT REFERENCE TO NATIVE PLACE)[1]

A 114 (822); Plate XV

ON a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 21). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 8, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 106, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 106; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 59.

Text:

Ujhikāye dāna

Translation:

The gift of Ujhikā (*Ujjhikā*)[2].

A 115 (854); Plate XXV

Fragmentary inscription on a rail-bar. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 39, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 24, No. 89, and p. 100.

Text:

Kachula[ya].. .. .. ..bhāriyāya dānaṁ[3]

Translation:

The gift of Kachulā (*Kañchulā* ?)[4], the wife of.....

The four or five *aksharas* missing before *bhāriyāya* must have contained the name of the husband of the donatrix, whose own name seems to have been Kachulā, cf. Chāpadevāya Revatimitabhāriyāya No. A 34. Barua-Sinha's restoration is wrong.

A 116 (871)[5]; Plate XV

Rail inscription, South-Western quadrant; now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 56, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 147, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 147; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 31, No. 105.

Text:

Koḍāya[6] Yakhiyā dānaṁ

---

[1] For donations of women whose native places have been mentioned see No. A 9 (fragmentary), A 10, A 14, A 15, A 18-20, A 27, A 28, A 32-35, A 45, A 46, A 48, A 49, A 53.

[2] See classification II, 2, b (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).

[3] From Cunningham's eye-copy. In the transcript the first word is given as *Kachulasa*, but the fourth *akshara* may be a mutilated *ya*.

[4] See classification II, 1, b (names derived from dress).

[5] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[6] To the right of the lower portion of the letter *ḍā* the estampage shows a dot which could be read as *ṃ* if it were not so low. It is perhaps only accidental. *Koḍāya* is probably a clerical error for *Koḍiyāya*.

Translation:

The gift of Yakhī (*Yakshī*)[1], the Koḍiyā.

Lüders in his *List* translates this inscription as 'gift of a yakhī (*yakshī*) by Koḍā (*Kroḍā*)', taking *yakhī* as the object of donation[2] and Koḍā as the donor. That a *yakhī* is the object of the gift is not probable as the inscription is not attached to a pillar. On the other hand *Yakhī* occurs as the name[3] of a nun not less than three times in the Brāhmī inscriptions, see *List* Nos. 254, 344, and 500. For the interpretation of *Koḍā* as a woman belonging to the Koḍya or Koliya tribe cf. Lüders' explanation of *Koḍiyānī* in A 14, A 15 and of *Koḍāyo* in No. B 72. A *Koḍa Kalavāḍa* also appears in the Vakālā stone inscription, *List* No. 971.

A 117 (872)[4]; Plate XIV

Rail inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. First edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 57, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 148, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 148; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 31, No. 106.

Text:

Ghosāye dānaṁ

Translation:

The gift of Ghosā (*Ghoshā*)[5].

A 118 (823); Plate XV

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 15). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 9, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 107, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 107; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 60.

Text:

(Dha)marakhitaya[6] dāna suchi

Translation:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*)[7].

A 119 (826); Plates XV, XL

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 59). The inscription is incised in continuation of No. B 44. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879),

[1] See classification I, 4, b, 1 (names derived from spirits and animal deities).
[2] The only case where the object of donation is not put in the nominative is *bodhichakasa* in No. A 106.
[3] Barua-Sinha also take *Yakhī* as a personal name although they translate *Koḍāya* as 'from Kuṇḍa (?)'.
[4] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[5] See classification II, 1, b (names derived from appearance of the body and from voice).
[6] The *dha* which Cunningham gives in his transcript and his eye-copy is now broken off.
[7] See classification I, 1, b (Buddhist names).

p. 139, No. 12, and Pl. XXVI and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 110, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 110; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 62.

TEXT:

Nadutaraya dāna suchi

TRANSLATION:

The rail-bar (is) the gift of Nadutarā (*Nandottarā*)[1].

A 120 (821); PLATE XV

ON a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 24). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 139, No. 7, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 105, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 105; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 19, No. 55.

TEXT:

Dhamaguta-matu[2] Pusadevaya dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Pusadevā (*Pushyadevā*)[3], the mother of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*)[4].

A 121 (875)[5]; PLATE XV

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 60, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 150, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI, (1892), p. 238, No. 150; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 32, No. 109.

TEXT:

Mitadevāye dānaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Mitadevā (*Mitradevā*)[5].

A 122 (862)[6]; PLATE XV

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 141, No. 47, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL (1886), p. 74, No. 139, and Pl., and *IA.*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 238, No. 139; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 27, No. 97.

TEXT:

Samidatāya dānaṁ

[1] See classification II, 2, b (names derived from mental disposition and temperament).
[2] Hultzsch *Dha[ṃ]ma-*.
[3] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).
[4] See classification I, 1, a (Buddhist names).
[5] See classification I, 3, b (names referring to vedic deities).
[6] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

TRANSLATION:

The gift of Samidatā (*Svāmidattā*)[1].

A 123 (758); PLATE XV

ON a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (NS. 6500)[2]. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 47, and Pl. LIV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 20[3].

TEXT:

Sonāya dānaṁ thabhā[4]

TRANSLATION:

The pillars (are) the gift of Sonā (*Śravaṇā*)[5].

The gift of more than one pillar by the same person is recorded also in the inscriptions A 25, A 27, A 29, A 124.

A 124 (803); PLATE XXV

FRAGMENTARY inscription on a pillar, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 138, No. 90, and Pl.; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 16, No. 43.

TEXT:

.. .. .. sakāya thabhā dānaṁ[6]

TRANSLATION:

The pillars (are) the gift of ...... sakā.

The inscription appears to be fragmentary, but I see no reason whatever why it should be combined with No. A 43, as suggested by Barua-Sinha. *Sakā,* moreover, does not sound like a personal name, and the term *bhichhunī Sakā,* ' the Buddhist nun ', occurs nowhere, neither at Bhārhut nor in any other inscription.

A 125 (899)[7]; PLATE XXV

EDITED by Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 16, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha *BI.* (1926), p. 37, No. 133.

TEXT:

..yaya dānaṁ[8].

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[1] See classification I, 4, b, 4 (Śaivite names). Barua-Sinha think of *Śamīdattā* besides *Svāmidattā.*

[2] See *ASIAR.* 1925-26, p. 148, Note 1, and Pl. LVIII d (above female figure).

[3] Barua-Sinha, *BI.* p. 100, No. 48 a, give an additional inscription *Soyāya dāna thabho,* which they translate as ' the gift of Sreyā (*Śrīyā*)—a pillar '. This inscription is probably the same as A 123 where they read *thabho* instead of *thabhā.* As no one else has noted this additional inscription it has not been treated by us separately.

[4] The second *akshara* is distinctly *bhā,* not *bho,* as given in Cunningham's eye-copy. The vertical stroke at the bottom of *tha* appears to be accidental.

[5] See classification I, 2, A, b (names derived from constellations).

[6] From Cunningham's eye-copy which shows *thabhā,* whereas the transcript has *thabho.*

[7] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[8] From the eye-copy of Cunningham.

TRANSLATION:

The gift of....yā[1].

A 126 (887)[2]; PLATE XXVI

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 4, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 35, No. 122.

TEXT:

Avāsikā .. .. [3]

TRANSLATION:

(Gift of ?) Avāsikā (?)[4]....

A donor of the name *Āvāsika* from *Ājanāva* occurs in Lüders' *List* No. 619[5].

A 127 (903)[2]; PLATE XXVI

EDITED by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), Pl. LVI, No. 20 (Pl. only); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 38, No. 134, and p. 62, No. 166; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 41; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 40.

TEXT:

1 Ko..dalākiye-
2 y[o] dana ṭanachakamapari-
3 [repo][6]

TRANSLATION:

The plastering of the ṭana-walk (is) the gift of Ko..dalākī(?).

Barua-Sinha divide this inscription into two parts and explain it as *koladalākiyāya dānaṁ* "The gift of Koladalākhya (?)" and *Vanacaṁkamo Pārireyo* "The woodland resort Pārileya". On the latter inscription they add the following remark: "The label seems to have been attached to a scene of the grassy woodland, where the Buddha spent a rainy season, being waited upon and guarded by the elephant Pārileyyaka or Pāreraka ...... The story of this elephant is given in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, the Kosambī-Jātaka of the Jātaka-Comy. (F. No. 428), and the Kosambakavatthu of the Dhammapada-Comy.".

Lüders, whose treatment of the inscription has not come to our hands, remarks, while dealing with the *chaṅkamas* (l.c.), that probably a third *chaṅkama* was depicted in Bhārhut.

[1] Barua-Sinha propose to combine our fragment with the inscription No. A 35 where the usual *dānaṁ* is missing. This is quite conjectural.

[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[3] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The right part of the inscription is broken off.

[4] Perhaps the name means: 'one who has a residence'. Accordingly it has been classified under II, 3, b (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth).

[5] Barua-Sinha suggest to complete the inscription as *Āvāsikā(ya bhikhuniyā dānaṁ)* "The gift of a nun of the local monastic abode." Their reference to *āvāsika-bhikkhu* 'resident monk' which is opposed to *āgantuka-bhikkhu* 'visiting monk' in this connection does not give sufficient support to the restoration proposed by them.

[6] From Cunningham's eye-copy.

He refers to our inscription of which he says that in fact it seems to contain the word *chakama*, but that the rest of it cannot be deciphered at the moment. According to him the explanation of Barua-Sinha, referred to above, is not convincing.

The tentative translation given above takes the latter part of the inscription as specifying the gift of Ko..dalākī (?), as is done in other Bhārhut inscriptions where we find the mention of pillars (*thabha*) and bars (*suchi*) as gifts of certain individuals. It presupposes that there was a *chaṁkama*, in the immediate vicinity of the stūpa, on which the inscription was carved, when the plastering (*parirepa* = *parilepa*) was done. It is difficult to explain the word *ṭana* by itself. If we could take the half-circle in Cunningham's eye-copy, read as *ṭ*, as a full circle, and read it as *ṭh*, then it is possible to explain *ṭhana*=*ṭhāna*<Sk. *sthāna*. The word *sthānachaṅkrama* would then mean 'the spot to walk up and down (*chaṅkrama*) at the place (*sthāna*) (of the Stūpa)'. Linguistically it is also possible that *ṭana* stands for *ṭhāna*, as loss of aspiration is found in the case of *ḍh*>*ḍ* in the following proper names: *Asaḍā* B 64, *Viruḍaka*- B 4, and *Daḍanikama*– B 77.

A 128 (889)[1]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 6, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 36, No. 124.

Text:

Chaṁdā....[2]

Translation:

(The gift of ?) Chaṁdā (*Chandrā*)[3]....

Chadā (*Chandrā*) is found in B 2 as the name of a Yakshī and in *List* No. 1276 as the name of an *upāsikā*.

[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[2] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The inscription is broken off at the right.
[3] See classification I, 4, b, 3 (names derived from minor deities).

8. A 129 - 136 UNCLASSIFIED FRAGMENTARY DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS

A 129 (689); Plate XXVI

FRAGMENTARY inscription on a pillar of a gateway, now at Batanmāra. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 128, No. 3, and Pl. LIII; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 3, No. 3.

Text:

1 hena.. .. .. ..
2 toraṇa cha.. .. ..
3 kata[1]

The inscription apparently recorded the gift of a gateway, but no connected translation is possible. Cf. No. A 1 and A 2.

A 130 (892)[2]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 9 and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 36, No. 127.

Text:

1 ... tu rajan[o] adhirajaka[3]...
2 .... .yata...

Translation:

(Gift of the ?) ..... of the king (*rājan*), the supreme king (*adhirāja* ?)...

A 131 (888)[2]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 5, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 35, No. 123.

Text:

Mahā[da]...[4]

Translation:

(Gift of ?) Mahā[da] ...[5]

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[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy. The transcript has *toranam* (i.e. *toranaṁ*).
[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.
[3] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The inscription which runs in two lines is broken off on both sides.
[4] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The inscription is broken off to the right.
[5] Barua-Sinha's completion of the inscription as *Mahād(evasa dānaṁ)* 'The gift of Mahādeva' is no more than a suggestion. *Mahādeva* occurs in B 62 and B 81 as a designation of the Buddha.

A 132 (890)[1]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 7, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 36, No. 125.

Text:

Satika. . .[2]

Translation:

(The gift of) Satika (*Svātika*)[3]. . . . . .

Compound names having Sati or Sāti (*Svāti*) as first member are found at different places in the Brāhmī inscriptions, cf. Lüders' *List* s.v.

A 133 (900)[1]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 17, and Pl. LVI, No. 16; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 78, No. 187.

Text:

. . [pa]chasa na[4]

Translation :

(The gift ?) of . . . [pa]cha[5]

A 134 (894)[1]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 11, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 37, No. 129.

Text:

. . .yasinisa yāni. . .[6]

Translation:

(The gift ?) of . . .yasini, the Yāni. . .[7]

A 135 (896)[1]; Plate XXVI

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 13, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 37, No. 131.

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[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing.

[2] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The right part of the inscription is broken off.

[3] See classification I, 2, A, a (names derived from constellations).

[4] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The left part of the inscription is broken off.

[5] This translation is only a tentative one. It assumes that the letter *dā* is left out before *na* and that this inscription was to end in (*dā*)*na*(*ṁ*). Barua-Sinha interpret the inscription as *paṁchāsanaṁ* 'the five seats' and see therein a reference to a "scene of the five spots in Uruvilvā, where the Buddha stayed five weeks, one week on each spot, after attainment of Buddhahood". If the inscription would refer to the five seats we should expect *āsanāni* and not *āsanaṁ*; moreover there is no mentioning of specific seats of the Buddha during his stay in Uruvilvā but of his taking seat under different trees, cf. Waldschmidt, *Vergleichende Analyse des Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Festschrift Schubring, Hamburg 1951, p. 87 f.

[6] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The inscription is broken off on both sides.

[7] This translation is a tentative one. Lüders in his *List* said: 'No sense can be made out'. Barua-Sinha have "The gift of Yānika (the inhabitant of a place, the name of which is missing except the last three syllables) *yasini*".

TEXT:

...sā Kusu...[1]

TRANSLATION:

(The gift of ?) Kusu(ma ?).... from (Vedi)sa (?)[2].

A 136 (757); PLATE XV

FRAGMENTARY inscription on a terminus pillar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 46, and Pl. LIV; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 11, No. 19; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 63 f., and Pl. (?)[3].

TEXT:

Yasika....

Yasika[4] may be the name of the Yaksha figured on the pillar. It could also be that of the donor, although the word is not found elsewhere as a personal name and it is not even certain that it was the beginning of the inscription.

[1] From the eye-copy of Cunningham. The inscription is broken off on both sides.

[2] The translation is no more than a conjecture.

[3] I am unable to state where the stone bearing the inscription is figured. In Barua's text it is called: Scene 64[a]. On his Plate LIX we are informed that No. 64[a] is No. 65 of the Plate. But the statue does not agree with the description. The Yaksha does not stand with joined hands on a bearded and human-faced quadruped, but with the right hand raised on a sea-monster.

[4] Under the assumption that the name is to be derived from *yaśas*, 'fame' it has been classified under II, 3, a (names derived from wealth, fame, and birth).

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

PART B

INSCRIPTIONS DESCRIBING THE SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

(a) THE SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS AND THE TEXTUAL TRADITION.

The question, whether the artists of Bhārhut worked according to the Pāli Jātaka collection or not, has been answered in the affirmative by Bühler[1] and in the negative by Minayeff[2] and von Oldenburg.[3] Foucher[4] is of the opinion that although a literary source akin to the Pāli collection was followed, this could not have been the Pāli collection itself. His argument—which I am going to treat in detail—rests on three grounds: firstly, the Jātakas in the labels and in the Pāli-texts have different titles; secondly, the labels are written in a dialect differing from the Pāli; thirdly, several of the stories represented cannot be found in the Pāli collection.

1. I cannot give any value to the first of the above-mentioned reasons.[5] The titles in the Jātaka collection are late, which may be concluded from the fact that they sometimes are based on a misunderstanding of the text. E.g. *J.* 341 bears the title Kaṇḍarijātaka. The name Kaṇḍari, however, is based, as mentioned in our treatment of No. B 60, on the false separation of the words in Gāthā 21 of *J.* 536, and in reality is the same as in the label of the Bhārhut relief viz. Kaṇḍariki. The titles of the Jātakas often differ in the manuscripts of the Atthavaṇṇanā too. In Burmese, the Mūgapakkhaj. (538) is called Temiyaj., and the Mahāummaggaj. (546) appears as Mahosadhaj. For Guṇaj. (157) at least some Burmese manuscripts give Sīhaj., as well as Rājovādaj. for Mahākapij. (407) and Chandakumāraj. for Khaṇḍahālaj. (542). In some Siṁhalese manuscripts Romakaj. (277) is styled Pārāpataj. Also the commentator of the Jātaka himself, when alluding to the Jātakas, often uses titles, different from those standing in the text. Finally the occurrence of smaller differences in the titles may be considered as shortenings or extensions of them. E.g. the commentator mentions the Sammodamānaj. (33) as Vaṭṭakaj. in Vol. V, 414, 27, the Vānarindaj. (57) as Kumbhīlaj. in Vol. II, 206, 14, the Telapattaj. (96) as Takkasilaj. in Vol. I, 469, 30 f., the Guṇaj. (157) as Sigālaj. in Vol. II, 314, 21, the Ādittaj. (424) as Sovīraj.[6] in Vol. IV, 360, 24; 401, 12, the Kosambīj. (428) as Saṁghabhedaj. in Vol. III, 211, 10 f., the Chakkavākaj. (434) as Kākaj. in Vol. I, 241, 28 f., Vol. II, 318, 23 f., the Samuggaj. (436) as Karaṇḍakaj. in Vol. V, 455, 2, the Chatudvāraj. (439) as Mahāmittavindakaj. in Vol. I, 363, 7 f., Vol. III, 206, 14 f., the Mahākapij. (516) as Vevaṭiyakapij.[7] in Vol. III, 178, 7 f., the Vidhurapaṇḍitaj. (545) as Puṇṇakaj. in Vol. IV, 14, 24 f.; 182, 19.

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[1] *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 16 f.

[2] *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 152.

[3] *JAOS.* XVIII, p. 185 f.

[4] *Mém. conc. l'Asie Orient.*, Vol. III, p. 9.

[5] In the same way already Rhys Davids, *Buddh. Birth Stories*, p. LXI has expressed his opinion.

[6] Suchirajātaka (Cks), Vidūrajātaka (Bd) in Vol. IV, 360, 24, Sivirajātaka (Bd) in Vol. IV, 401, 12 are distortions by the writers, cf. Andersen, *J.*, Vol. VII, p. XIV.

[7] In the Siṁhalese manuscripts.

Exactly the same is to be observed in the other commentary literature. In *DA.* page 674 Buddhaghosa refers to the Sammodamānaj. as Vaṭṭakaj., on page 178 to the Vidhurapaṇḍitaj. as Puṇṇakaj., besides on page 674 to the Daddabhaj. (322) as Paṭhavīuddīyanaj., on page 657 to the Dhammaddhajaj. (384) as Dhammikavāyasaj. In the *DhA.* in Vol. I, 55 the Sammodamānaj. is called Vaṭṭakaj., in Vol. IV, 83 the Telapattaj. bears the name Takkasilaj., and the Kachchhapaj. (215) is cited in Vol. IV, 92 as Bahubhāṇij. Such fluctuations in the titles of the Jātakas, however, must have existed already in the time when the Bhārhut reliefs were carved. Only in this way indeed it is understandable that in the inscription No. B 42 two labels Biḍalajata[k]a and Kukuṭajataka are given side by side as it were for choice.

The reason for these fluctuations is also recognizable. At the time of the Bhārhut sculptures these titles were in no way literally fixed, but were used only as convenient short designations. In the beginning the different Jātakas did not have any real titles. The first Pāda of the first Gāthā was taken as the heading. This custom has been retained in the Jātaka-Atthavaṇṇanā, even where, on account of regroupings sometimes made by the author of the Atthavaṇṇanā, it did not suit any more. In the Vidhurapaṇḍitaj. (545) the heading is *paṇḍū kisiyāsi dubbalā.* This is indeed the first Pāda of the first Gāthā in the proper story of Vidhura and Puṇṇaka, but not of the Jātaka as it stands now in the Atthavaṇṇanā, because the story of the Chatuposathikaj. (441) from the Dasanipāta precedes it.[1] Likewise the Kosiyaj. (470) and 9 further Gāthās precede the proper story in the Sudhābhojanaj. (535)[2]; the title, however, reads *naguttame* or *naguttame girivare,* which is the beginning of the first Gāthā in the proper story[3]. The Mahāummaggaj. (546) opens in the Atthavaṇṇanā with a whole row of narrations that were independent Jātakas in the original collection: G. 2[4] belongs to the Sabbasaṁhārakapañha (110), G. 3 to the Gadrabhapañha (111), G. 4-5 belong to the Kakaṇṭakaj. (170), G. 6-7 to the Sirikāḷakaṇṇij. (192), G. 8-19 to the Meṇḍakaj. (471), G. 20-40 to the Sirimandaj. (500), G. 41 to the Amarādevīpañha (112)[5], G. 43-47 to the Khajjopanakaj. (364), G. 48-57 to the Bhūripañhaj. (452), G. 58-61 to the Devatāpañhaj. (350), G. 62-83 to the Pañchapaṇḍitaj. (508).[6] The proper Mahāummaggaj. begins only with Gāthā 84 and the Pratīka of this Gāthā *Pañchālo sabbasenāya* therefore still appears in the Atthavaṇṇanā as the title. I regard it as most probable that the combination of several Jātakas had been undertaken by the author of the Atthavaṇṇanā himself who in this way wished to avoid repetitions in the prose-narrations. This regrouping will scarcely have been accomplished at the time of the origin of the Bhārhut sculptures. The label *yavamajhakiyaṁ jatakaṁ* (cf. B 52) will therefore not refer to the Mahāummaggaj. in its present form, but will only be the title of the story of Mahosadha and Amarādevī. This story, on account of its containing only one Gāthā (41), originally stood as *J.* 112 in the Ekanipāta where it is at present mentioned under the title Amarādevīpañha or Chhannapathapañha totally unsuitable for the story handed down to us in the Jātaka collection. The title *Yavamajjhakīyaṁ jātakaṁ* therefore, according to my opinion,

[1] G. 11 has probably been taken from the Sirimandaj. (500).

[2] The Kosiyaj. stands in the Dvādasanipāta, therefore it should contain 12 Gāthās. Indeed there is in the tale of the avaricious Kosiya an evident conclusion after the 12th Gāthā. The nine following Gāthās are an amplification or a second version of the tale.

[3] In the Burmese manuscript (B[d]) the heading has been changed to *neva kiṇāmi,* which is the beginning of the first Gāthā in the text of the Atthavaṇṇanā. The Burmese manuscript B[s] still bears the old heading.

[4] The stanza marked as G. 1 by Fausböll is no Gāthā but an Uddāna which does not belong to the canonical text.

[5] G. 42 is G. 58 anticipated in the prose narration.

[6] Another Jātaka, the Dakarakkhasaj. (517), has also been incorporated into the proper Mahāummaggaj.

cannot be taken to prove that the artists of Bhārhut were following a text-book different from the Pāli Jātaka as suggested by von Oldenburg. The same holds good for the title Kinnarajātakaṁ (cf. B 54). That the Pratīka-headings took the place of titles is confirmed by the label *yaṁ bramano avayesi* (B 51). It is identical with the heading in the Atthavaṇṇanā (*J.* 62). This way of citation seems to me to be one of the strongest proofs for the still disputed view[1] that originally only the Gāthās of the Jātakas were collected together. Indeed I do not understand how it can be doubted that the original collection contained only the Gāthās. For (1) the stories are arranged according to the number of the Gāthās they contained, (2) they are referred to according to the first Pāda of the first Gāthā, (3) the prose-narration does not agree with the Gāthās in innumerable cases, and (4) the prose-narration handed down to us calls itself a commentary to the Jātaka[2] (*Jātakass' atthavaṇṇanā*)[3].

2. Regarding Foucher's point three it cannot be disputed that there are representations of stories in Bhārhut which are not to be found in the Pāli Jātaka book. But I don't know why this fact should speak against the use of the Pāli collection by the artists. From amongst the sculptures at Bhārhut that are either not designated as Jātakas in the labels or are totally undesignated, up to now 21 can be identified with certainty and two with probability with the stories occurring in the Pāli Jātaka collection. This, however, does not prove that all similar representations must be taken as Jātakas. The artists may as well have illustrated legends which were never Jātakas or had not become Jātakas at their time. For example this, in my opinion, is the case with the legends, the scene of which was mount Naḍoda. On the other hand, it is scarcely a chance that the 18 scenes, labelled as Jātakas[4], are all to be identified with Jātakas in the Pāli collection. To me this seems to speak decisively for the fact that the artists of Bhārhut worked according to the Pāli Jātaka collection.

This statement could be contradicted, if the sculptures would show differences from the text of the Pāli collection. While discussing such possible cases, it has to be taken into consideration that only such matter can be used for comparison which is proved to be old by the Gāthās and not merely mentioned in the prose-narration.

Lanman, *JAOS.*, XVIII, p. 185 opines that the representation of the Ārāmadūsakaj. (Pl. XLV 5) is a good example showing that the sculptural representations agree with the canonical texts in the essentials, but deviate in details: in *J.* 46 the gardener gives leather bags (*chammaṇḍa*) and wooden tubs (*dārukuṭa*) to the apes, in *J.* 268 leather vessels (*chammaghaṭaka*) for watering of trees, while in the relief the monkeys use earthen pots in nets suspended from sticks carried on their shoulders. In the Gāthās, which alone are canonical, nothing however is said about the kind of the vessels used. So this can scarcely be called a contradiction.

In the Chammasāṭakaj. (324), the fool pushed down by the ram is, according to the prose-narration, a religious mendicant carrying a skingarment (*chammasāṭako paribbājako Bārāṇasiyaṁ bhikkhāya charanto*). In the Gāthās, however, he is a Brahmin carrying a burden suspended from a stick (*khāribhāra*), and the relief (Pl. XLI 1; 3) exactly corresponds to it.

[1] e.g. Weller, *ZII.*, IV, p. 47.

[2] Oldenberg, *G. N.*, 1911, p. 447.

[3] Lüders proceeds to say that there are direct proofs showing that in olden times there were manuscripts containing only the Gāthās. Short hints at this fact have been made already by Franke (*BB.* XXII, p. 296 ff.) and Senart (*JA.* Sér. IX, *T.* XVII, p. 404). But it seems to Lüders that they have not received sufficient attention, and so he collects all the material on pp. 140 ff. of his book on Bhārhut which the reader desiring to have more information on the point may look up.

[4] Of the 19th scene only the mutilated inscription .....*niyajātaka*(B 80)has remained, but not the representation.

It is also no deviation if the man who warns the Brahmin about the ram is represented in the relief as a well-dressed man standing upright, whereas, according to the prose, he is a merchant sitting in his shop; for in the Gāthās nothing is said regarding this person.

The representation of the Mahābodhij. (528) (Pl. XXVII 14) exactly tallies with the course of narration to be concluded from the Gāthās 1-3. The dog has heard the conversation of the king with his wife, by which it knows that the affection of the king for the ascetic has disappeared. It therefore barks at him and shows him its teeth, whereas in the prose narration the dog appears as a warner of the ascetic under total distortion of the original sense.

In the Mahākapij. (407) only a slight difference between the relief on Pl. XXXIII 4 and the Gāthās is to be observed. According to G. 3 the monkey–king fastens the cane to his hind-feet (*aparapādesu daḷhaṁ baddhalatāguṇaṁ*)[1], on which the apes have to cross from one tree to another. In the relief the cane is fastened to its right hind-leg. The deviation is too insignificant to lead to the conclusion that the artist was following a different version. All the other deviations from the Pāli Jātaka only refer to the prose-narration. According to the prose–narration, the king gets the ape-king down from the tree by means of a scaffolding which he got erected on the raft in the Gaṅgā. In the relief, two men are spreading a cloth in order to catch up the monkey, as is likewise narrated in the Jātakamālā (*paṭavitānaṁ vitatya* 179, 1). The prose narrates that the exhausted ape-king is laid on a bed covered with a skin moistened with oil. In the relief he sits in conversation with the king on a cane-seat (*mōṛhā*) as the king himself does. Nothing of this kind is said in the Gāthās. Without hesitation, we may take the version of the story followed by the sculptor as the older one, the more so as the Bhārhut relief is in agreement in these points with[2] the representation of the Jātaka on the Western gate of stūpa I in Sāñchī[3].

Other cases of supposed discrepancies between the Pāli Jātaka story and the sculptural representation likewise turn out to refer to the prose-narration; see the treatment of No. B 45, B 46, B 49, B 57, and B 59.

What applies to the representations of the Jātakas also applies to the scenes from the life of the Buddha. We have to keep in mind that here also only deviations from the canonical texts can prove the use of a collection different from the Pāli Tipiṭaka. What appears in the later commentary literature is the form which the legends took in Ceylon in the 5th cent. A.D., and it is indeed quite possible that they were narrated differently on Indian soil even in the school of the Theras.

Now in Bhārhut only two stories are represented, which are handed down in the Suttas, viz. the visit of Ajātasattu and the visit of Sakka in the *Indasālaguhā*, which are treated below under B 40 and B 35. Both the representations do not contain anything which is

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[1] According to the prose, to his hip (*ekaṁ attano kaṭiyaṁ bandhitvā* III, 372, 5). Āryaśūra in the Jātakamālā follows in this point more exactly the text of the Gāthā (*vetralatayā gāḍham ābadhya charaṇau* 178, 10). In the rest, however, he deviates from the Pāli prose-narration and from the sculpture. The Bodhisattva stretches not across the river, but across the space between the tree and a mountain in the vicinity, and he does not cut off the cane and fasten it on to another tree, but leaves it rooted in the ground. The text of the Gāthās can be reconciled with both the versions.

[2] Surely also the account of the burial of the ape-king and of the worship of its skull is an addition in the prose-narration, as well as the identification of one of the bad monkeys, who mortally wounds the Bodhisattva by its jump, with Devadatta. In the Jātakamālā nothing of it is mentioned. The identification was originally missing even in the Samodhāna and has been added later on in the Burmese manuscripts. The Pachchuppannavatthu of the Chuladhammapālaj. (III, 178, 7 f.), however, refers to it.

[3] Marshall, *Guide to Sāñchī*, Pl. VI d; *Mém. conc. l'Asie Or.* T. III, Pl. II, 6. The half-figure, which appears in the Bhārhut relief at the bottom between the ape and the king, is not explained with certainty. I regard it out of question that there is an ape again, as suggested by Barua, *Barhut* II, p. 130. Probably Foucher is right who sees in the figure one of the inhabitants of the forest, who brought the king to the tree of the Bodhisattva. See *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 42.

opposed to the canonical texts. On the contrary the visit of Ajātasattu is depicted even in details exactly according to the Sāmaññaphalasutta (*DN.* I. 47 ff.). In the same way the representation of the visit of Sakka follows the text of the Sakkapañhasutta (*DN.* II, 263 ff.). Even the name of the cave in the label (*Idasālaguha*) is the same as in Pāli, while with the Sarvāstivādins it occurs as Indraśailaguhā.

Moreover, the depictions of the non-canonical legends also show the greatest conformity with the Pāli version. This, for instance, holds good for the Erapatta-legend, treated below under B 36 and B 37.

It is doubtful whether in the relief representing the donation of the Jetavana, a deviation from the later Pāli sources is to be seen. I am showing below[1] that the relief, in so far as it is also a depiction of the miracle of Śrāvastī, represents a version of the legend older than the one in the Pāli commentaries. Nevertheless the close relation with the tradition of the Theras comes to light, when we compare it with the version in the text of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which differs to a greater extent.

In these circumstances even the occurrence of persons as the devaputra Arahagutta (B 20), unknown to the Pāli commentary literature, in the Bhārhut reliefs does not prove that the artists followed a tradition different from that of the Theras.

There is, as far as I see, in Bhārhut only one deviation from the Pāli canon, viz. the representation of the Bodhi tree of Buddha Vipassin (treated under B 13). I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation. It is quite improbable that the text in the Mahāpadānasutta has been afterwards changed. It seems that here in fact the tradition of a different school comes to light which found its way into the pictorial art, for also in Sāñchī, the Aśoka appears as the Bodhi tree of Vipassin. The Kharoshṭhī letters used as marks of the sculptors on the eastern gate make it probable that also the artists from the North-West of India were at work at Bhārhut. Perhaps the Vipassin-medallion which differs[2] also stylistically from the type of the representation of Bodhi trees common in Bhārhut is the work of some artist from the North-West. Be it as it may, I do not believe that this quite unique case can weaken the argument that the artists of Bhārhut in general followed in their work the tradition of the Theras as it was laid down in the canonical Pāli texts.

3. I cannot enter here into a full discussion on the second point raised by Foucher against the use of the Pāli Jātaka collection, as the explanation of the linguistic deviations in the labels from the Pāli would require a special treatise. I intend to give it on a different occasion, and hope to be able to show that the text of the Pāli canon is translated from an older canon laid down in the popular language of Eastern India.[3] When translating into the Western language, which we are used to call Pāli, not only numerous faults occurred, but at many places the Eastern forms have been retained. So for instance, in the Eastern language the *ksh* of *śaiksha* and of *bhikshu*, *bhikshuṇī* became *kkh*, in the Western language, however, it became *chchh*. But *sekkha*, *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhunī* were taken over without change as technical expressions in the church language.[4] When the sculptors of Bhārhut or their employers used the forms *sechha* (B 45) and *bhichhunī*[5] which are in conformity with the Western colloquial language, so naturally we cannot conclude therefrom that they followed

[1] See the treatment under B 32.

[2] While in other cases always two standing worshippers only are represented behind the kneeling figures, we have here on the left side five and on the right side four standing worshippers.

[3] This treatise mentioned by Lüders has been edited by E. Waldschmidt in 1954 from fragmentary papers left by Lüders under the title "*Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*" (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, 1952, No. 10).

[4] In the vocative plural *bhikkhave*, even the ending *–e<–as* has been retained in the Eastern form.

[5] This form occurs ten times in the inscriptions, at the side of *bhikkhunī* appearing only five times.

the text in a dialect different from the Pāli. At the first look the matter seems to be different in the label treated under B 51 viz. *yaṁ bramano avayesi jatakaṁ*,[1] for the first three words came from the Gāthā, that is to say, from the text of the canon. In Pāli we have *yaṁ brāhmaṇo avādesi.* The original text probably read *bāhane* instead of *brāhmaṇo*, and for *avādesi* certainly *avāyesi.* Now today, we know how the Sanskrit translations of the canonical texts were made: countless Prakritisms were at first simply taken over and only gradually later on substituted by correct Sanskrit forms. The Pāli translators have worked apparently in the same way. *Avāyesi* was kept at first and only later on corrected to the right Pāli form *avādesi*; *bāhane* was translated by *bramhano*, and *bramhano* was later on, not only here but in the whole sphere of Pāli literature, substituted by *brāhmaṇo* which is not at all a real dialectal form, but, as the *hm* shows, simply taken over from Sanskrit. From that label we can only draw the conclusion that in the 2nd cent. B.C. the text of the Pāli canon showed more Eastern forms than today.

The inscription A 56 shows that at the time of the construction of the railing a Buddhist canon was in existence, for the donor of a rail-bar, the venerable Jāta, is designated as *peṭakin* a ' knower of the Piṭakas '. This, by itself, would not mean that Jāta studied the Pāli Tipiṭaka of the Theras, as the canon of other schools also consisted of Piṭakas. In Sārnāth, Set Mahet, and Mathurā we have inscriptions of donations from the time of Kanishka and Huvishka[2] in which the monk Bala calls himself *trepiṭaka*, and his pupil, Buddhamitrā, *trepiṭikā.* As Bala uses Sanskrit full of Prakritism in his inscriptions, his *Tripiṭaka* will also have been composed in this language. But in the inscription No. A 57 a certain Budharakhita[3] is mentioned, who receives the designation *paṁchanekāyika*[4] that is ' knowing the five Nikāyas '. The five Nikāyas must be the five divisions of the Suttapiṭaka in the Pāli canon[5], for only here the division into five Nikāyas occurs. In the canons of the other schools, as is well-known, *āgama* is used instead of *nikāya*. Whether the contents of the five Nikāyas, especially those of the Khuddakanikāya, were at that time exactly the same as in the Pāli canon of today is a question in which we need not enter here.[6] In any case the expression *paṁchanekāyika* confirms that the Pāli canon was in existence in the 2nd cent. B.C. in Western India. The probability that the artists of Bhārhut followed the texts of this canon is highly strengthened by this fact.

[1] The missing of the length of vowels is naturally only graphic; *bramano* seems to be incomplete writing for *bramhano.*

[2] *List* Nos. 925-927; 918; 38.

[3] Buddharakkhita is naturally a monk even if he is not called a *bhikkhu* in the inscription; he is not a layman as Barua *JPASB.*, New Ser. XIX, p. 358 supposes.

[4] The same title is received by the monk Devagiri in the Sāñchī inscription 299. *Mil.* 22 mentions side by side *tepiṭakā bhikkhū pañchanekāyikā pi cha chatunekāyikā cheva.*

[5] According to Buddhaghosa, *DA.*, p. 22 f., *DhsA.*, p. 26; *Samantap.* (*Vin.* III, p. 291), the whole of the Tipiṭaka indeed is divided into five Nikāyas. According to him the Vinayapiṭaka and Abhidhammapiṭaka belong to the Khuddakanipāta. This conception occurs also in the Gandhavaṁsa (*JPTS.* 1886, p. 57) which is probably composed not earlier than the 17th cent., but it can impossibly be the original. It is shown clearly by the terminology itself that the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka were coordinated with the Suttapiṭaka. In the account of the council at Rājagaha found in Chullav. 11, 1, 7 ff., the *pañcha nikāyā* are obviously confronted as texts of the Dhamma with the *ubhatovinayā* as the texts of the Vinaya. Cf. Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris 1926, p. 338.

[6] In *Mil.* 341 f. the inhabitants of the Dhammanagara are enumerated as *suttantikā, venayikā, ābhidhammikā, dhammakathikā, jātakabhāṇakā, dīghabhāṇakā, majjhimabhāṇakā, saṁyuttabhāṇakā, aṅguttarabhāṇakā, khuddakabhāṇakā.* I do not believe that it can be concluded from the juxtaposition of the *jātakabhāṇakā* and the *khuddakabhāṇakā* that the author did not look upon the Jātaka book as a part of the *khuddakanikāya*, or even, as Barua *JPASB.*, N.S. XIX. p. 363 thinks, that a special collection of the commentorial Jātakas besides the collection contained in the Khuddakanikāya was in existence. The reciters of the Jātakas are mentioned especially after the preachers of sermons probably because both address themselves chiefly to the laymen whereas the expositions of the Nikāyas may have been meant principally for the monks.

(b) LIST OF THE JATAKAS IDENTIFIED.

No.	Inscription	Text	First identified by
B 41	Haṁsajātaka	Nachchaj. 32	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 69.
B 42	Biḍalajatara Kukuṭajataka	Kukkuṭaj. 383	Subhūti, *StBh.*, p. 77 f.
B 43	Nāgajātaka	Kakkaṭaj. 267	Subhūti, *StBh.*, p. 52 f.
B 44	Laṭuvājātaka	Laṭukikaj. 357	Cunningham-Subhūti, *StBh.*, p. 58 f.
B 45	Sechhajataka	Dūbhiyamakkaṭaj. 174	Rhys Davids, (*Buddhist Birth Stories*) I, p. CII.
B 46	Udajātaka	Dabbhapupphaj. 400	Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* XL, p. 61.
B 47	Migajātakaṁ	Ruruj. 482	Hultzsch, *IA.* XXI, p. 226.
B 48	Isimigo jataka	Nigrodhamigaj. 12	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 75.
B 49	Chhadaṁtiya jātakaṁ	Chhaddantaj. 514	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 61 ff.
B 50	Sujato gahuto jataka	Sujātaj. 352	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 76 f.
B 51	Yaṁ bramano avayesi jatakaṁ	Aṇḍabhūtaj. 62	Subhūti, *StBh.*, p. 65 ff.
B 52	Yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ	Amarādevipañha 112 (Mahāummaggaj. 546)	Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 148 ff.
B 53	Isisiṁgiya jātakaṁ	Alambusaj. 523	Minayeff-Subhūti, *StBh.*, p.64 f.
B 54	Kinarajātakaṁ	Takkāriyaj. 481 (Episode)	Hultzsch, *IA.* XXI, p. 226.
B 55	Vitura-Punakiya jatakaṁ	Vidhurapaṇḍitaj. 545	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 79 ff.
B 56	usu(kāro) Janako rāja Sivala devī	Mahājanakaj. 539	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 95.
B 57	Maghādeviya jataka	Makhādevaj. 9	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 78 f.
B 58	Bhisaharaniya jatakaṁ	Bhisaj. 488	Hultzsch, *IA.*, XXI, p. 226.
B 59	Mugaphakiya jātakaṁ	Mūgapakkhaj. 538	Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 58 f.; Oldenburg, *JAOS.* XVIII, p. 190 f.
B 60	Kaḍariki	Kaṇḍarij. 341 (in Kuṇālaj. 536)	Barua-Sinha, *BI.*, p. 86 f.; Lüders, *ZDMG.* XCIII, p. 100 ff.
B 61	Vijapi vijadharo	Samuggaj. 436	Barua-Sinha, *BI.*, p. 89 f.

(c) TEXT-TRANSLATION-NOTES: B 1-82

1. B 1-12 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO THE FIGURES OF DEMI-GODS AND GODDESSES.

B 1 (794); Plates XVI, XXIX

On the inner face of the same pillar as Nos. A 58, B 2 and B 3, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta(P 5). The inscription is engraved on the same side as No. A 58. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.*(1879),p. 20; 138, No. 82, and Pl. XXII and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 92, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 92; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 65 ff., No. 174; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 58 f., Vol. III (1937), Pl. LV and LVI (60); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 10.

Text:

Kupiro yakho

Translation:

The Yaksha Kupira (*Kubera*).

The figures on the corner Pillar on the North-Western quadrant of the stone-railing (P 5) are labelled as Kupiro yakho (B 1), Chadā yakhi (B 2), Ajakālako yakho (B 3) and the figures on the corner pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant (P 1) as Viruḍako yakho (B 4), Gaṁgito yakho (B 5), Chakavāko nāgarājā (B 6). As Kupira (*Kubera*) and Viruḍaka (*Virūḍhaka*) are the guardians of the Northern and Southern region respectively we can assume with certainty that on the lost corner pillars of both the other quadrants Virūpakkha and Dhataraṭṭha, the guardians of the West and East, were represented, each one with two companions. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore*, p. 212, is of the opinion that the names of the four world-guardians do not occur in the older Pāli texts, but they are given in the Mahāsamaya-sutta (*D.* II, 258) and in the Āṭānāṭiyasutta (*D.* III, 197 ff.) in accordance with their fixed distribution in the four directions. Of the above named companions of Kuvera and Virūḷhaka three viz. Chakkavāka, Gaṁgita and Chaṁdā are not yet ascertained in literature. They seem to have been local deities venerated in the region of Bhārhut. The Yaksha labelled Supāvaso yakho (B 7) who is represented on the pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant evidently belongs to the same class too.

The corner pillar on which our inscription appears has three figures, one female and two male ones, each on one side of the pillar. The figure labelled Kupiro yakho is to the left of the figure of Chandrā (B 2). Kubera is represented standing with folded hands on a dwarf, who supports himself on his feet and hands. This is in accordance with his ordinary epithet *naravāhana.*[1] As recognised by Cunningham, he owes his position on the northern side of the Stūpa to the guardianship of the North which is attributed to him in Buddhist as well as in

[1] Barua, *Barh.* II., p. 58, points out that Kuvera has been designated as *nārivāhana* 'one having a woman for his vehicle' in the *SnA.* (p. 370), where, however, no more is mentioned than that he mounted a *nārivāhana* for his journey to the upāsikā Nandamātā. Naravāhana certainly only means that his vehicle consists of human beings as it is the case in the Āṭānāṭiyas. (*D.* III, 200) where the Uttara-kurus, whose sovereign Kuvera is, are referred to as using men and women, young boys and maidens as *vāhana*.

Brahmanical literature; cf. *D.* II, 257 f.; III, 202; *Mvu.* III, 309.13; *Lalitav.* 218, 9; 390, 19; *Mahām.* p. 230. In all these passages he is called the lord of the Yakshas. The spelling of his name in the inscription with *p* instead of *b* (surd instead of sonant) has parallels in such forms as *Erāpata-* and *Vitura–*.

B 2 (793); Plates XVI, XXIX, XXX

On the middle face of the same pillar as A 58, B 1 and B 3, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 5). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 138, No. 81, and Pl. XXII and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 91, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 91; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 72, No. 182; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 70, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LVI (73); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 11.

Text:

Chadā yakhi

Translation:

The Yakshī Chadā (*Chandrā*).

This female figure is standing under a Nāga tree (Mesua ferrea)[1] on a sheep or ram with the hindpart of a fish. This probably characterizes her as a water-goddess. With her right hand she grasps a bough of the tree over her head, while her left hand and her left leg are thrown around the trunk of the tree.

B 3 (795); Plates XVI, XXIX

On the outer face of the same pillar as Nos. A 58, B 1 and B 2, now in the Indian museum, Calcutta (P 5). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 138, No. 83, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 93, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 93; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 67 f., No. 175; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 59 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LVII (61); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 13 ff.

Text:

Ajakālako yakho

Translation:

The Yaksha Ajakālaka.

The figure to which the label is attached stands opposite to the figure of Kubera (B 1). He has the bud of a lotus in his right hand which rests on his chest, while his left hand hangs by his side holding some undefined object between the thumb and the forefinger. The figure stands on a monster with the body of a fish, but with human hands thrust into its mouth; thus according to the description of Anderson *Cat.* I, p. 24. Barua l.c. II, p. 61, says that the animal has the tail of a Makara and the forefeet of a lion or of a tiger. The picture is not clear enough to allow us to decide the question.

A Yaksha Ajakālaka is not known from other sources. In the *Mahām.* p. 231; 236 two Yakshas, Kāla and Upakāla, are mentioned, but they certainly have no connection

[1] According to King quoted by Anderson, *Cat.* p. 23.

with Ajakālaka. Barua-Sinha have identified Ajakālaka with the Yaksha Ajakalāpaka who in *Ud.* I, 7 is said to have had his dwelling at the Ajakalāpaka chaitya in Pāvā. In a dark rainy night he tried to frighten the Buddha by uttering horrid cries, but only with the effect that the Buddha pronounced an *udāna.* Although it would be quite appropriate that a Yaksha of the demoniac class should be associated with Kubera, it is difficult to account for the difference of the final member of the names. Hultzsch had carried back Ajakālaka to Sk. *Ādyakālaka*, an explanation not very satisfactory in itself, and not made more reliable by the remarks made by Barua and Sinha in its support, for I, at least, take it as most improbable that a local Yaksha should be " a terrible embodiment of the ruthless unborn Time, destroying living beings, whose essence is immortality ". Besides the form Ajakalāpaka which according to Barua and Sinha is just a side form of Ajakālaka cannot be brought into agreement with this explanation. The Commentary to the *Ud.* offers two explanations: Ajakalāpaka is either 'some one making a bundle of goats' because the Yaksha accepts gifts only together with a tied up group of goats; or Ajakalāpaka 'some one who makes men bleat like goats', because people, when offering gifts shout like goats in order to satisfy him (*so kira yakkho aje kalāpetvā bandhanena ajakoṭṭhāsena saddhiṃ baliṃ paṭicchati no aññathā* ı *tasmā Ajakalāpako ti paññāyittha* ı *keci pana ajake viya satte lāpetīti Ajakalāpako ti* ı *tassa kira sattā baliṃ upanetvā yadā ajasaddaṃ katvā baliṃ upaharantī tadā so tussati* ı *tasmā Ajakalāpako ti vuccatīti* ı). Although I am of the opinion that the first part of the name is a word for goat, I think the explanations of the commentary are unacceptable. If both names have to be connected, which I think probable, it is nearest to take *kālaka* and *kalāpaka* as noun formations to the causative of a root *kal* that could as well form *kālayati* and *kalāpayati.* Perhaps this *kālayati* or *kalāpayati* had the same meaning as Sk. *kālayati* ' to make some one run before oneself', ' to persecute ', ' to scare away ', ' drive off '[1].

B 4 (736); Plates XVI, XXX

On the middle face of the same pillar as Nos. A 95, B 5, and B 6, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 1). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 134, No. 25, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 43, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 43; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 65, No. 172; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 57 f. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LV and LVII (58); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 10.

Text:

Viruḍako yakho

Translation:

The Yaksha Viruḍaka (*Virūḍhaka*).

The pillar P 1 shows three male figures, each on one side. Our inscription refers to the middle figure, the right and left arm of which is united with the arm of the adjoining figure

[1] The explanation given above is the one offered by Lüders, *Bhārh.*, p. 14f.—Earlier in his manuscript he had suggested the following derivation: "May we assume that Ajakālaka is a corruption of Ajagālaka and that Ajakalāpaka is a corruption of Ajagalāpaka or Ajagalāvaka, *gālaka* and *galāpaka* being derived from the causative of *gal* ' to devour ', which may be *gāleti* or *galāpeti*? That Ajakalāpaka contains *aja*, the word for goat, appears from the commentary. However, it cannot be denied that *ajagara* ' devourer of goats ', which in Pāli sometimes, e.g. *J.* 427, 2, is corrupted into *ajakara*, would seem to be a more suitable name than ' causing goats to be devoured', and so my suggestion must be taken for what it is worth ". For an explanation as *ajaka-lāpaka* cf. M. A. Mehendale, S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, p. 13.

(B 5, B 6 respy.); an armlet in the shape of a *triratna* encircles the common arm. The Yaksha is standing on rocks with caves tenanted by wild beasts and birds of prey. Attitude and dress are represented in the usual type of the Yaksha images.

Virūḍhaka, P. Virūḷha or Virūḷhaka, the chief of the Kumbhāṇḍas, is with the Buddhists always the guardian of the Southern quarter; cf. e.g. *D.* II, 257 f.; III, 198; *Mvu.* III, 307, 13; *Lalitav.* 217, 20; 389, 1; *Mahām.* 228 (cf. 752). Accordingly, as recognized already by Cunningham, his image is sculptured on the corner pillar of the South gate of the Stūpa. In the inscription he is still called a Yaksha, while in later times he has become a Nāga king. In the *Mahām.* p. 247 the four Lokapālas are inserted in the list of the Nāgarājas.

B 5 (737); Plates XVI, XXX

On the same pillar as Nos. A 95, B 4, and B 6, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 1). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 134, No. 26, and Pl. XXI and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 44, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 44; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 68, No. 176; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 61, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LVII (62), Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 10 f.

Text:

Gaṁgito yakho

Translation:

The Yaksha Gaṁgita.

The figure, which according to the label represents the Yaksha Gaṁgita, is on the left side of the figure of Virūḍhaka and opposite to the figure of the Nāga Chakravāka. The Yaksha is standing in the typical attitude of the Yaksha images with one foot on an elephant and the other on a tree. This is sufficient to show that he is not a water spirit, and that the attempt of Barua-Sinha[1] to connect his name, which is otherwise unknown, with the river Ganges is futile.

B 6 (735); Plates XVI, XXX

On the inner face of the same pillar as Nos. A 95, B 4 and B 5, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 1). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 26; 133, No. 24, and Pl. XXI and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 42, and

[1] The phonetic identification of Gaṁgita with Sk. Gāṅgeya proposed by them is obviously impossible, and their other observations on Gāṅgeya are also incorrect. According to them the *Mvp.* mentions a snake-king Gāṅgeya, 'one belonging to the Ganges or Gangetic region', but in the said text nothing of that kind occurs. In the lists of Nāgarājas therein (167, 77-80) Gaṅgā Nāgar., Sindhur Nāgar., Sitā Nāgar., Pakshur Nāgar., are mentioned where Pakshur obviously is a mistake for Vakshur (Oxus). The same line, only with the reversing of the last two names, is also found in the *Mahām.* p. 247. The water deities naturally represent the four wellknown worldstreams flowing in different directions, and when they are called here Nāgarājas, that corresponds to the later view seeing Nāgas in all water deities and even in Varuṇa. Barua further deduces from the representation of Gaṁgita: 'There must have been a distinct Buddhist Discourse, the Gaṅgeya-Sutta, giving an account of the demigod, as well as of the circumstances that led to his conversion to Buddhism. This Sutta must have contained a description of the terrors caused by him before he was tamed by the Buddha'. Such outbursts of imagination, unrestricted by any critical outlook, unfortunately occur frequently in Barua's work.

Pl.; *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 42; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 72, No. 181; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 68, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXII (70); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 10 f.

TEXT:

Chakavāko nāgarājā

TRANSLATION:

Chakavāka (*Chakravāka*), the king of the Nāgas.

The figure on the right of the middle figure (B 4) is determined by the inscription given above. A nāga of the name of Chakravāka is not known from other sources. In attitude and dress he does not differ from the ordinary type of the Yaksha figures, but he is distinguished from them by a five-headed cobra surmounting his turban. He is standing on rocks with caves from which some wild beasts are looking out, right above a lotus-lake inhabited by water-fowl, a crocodile and a tortoise. This lake is apparently the abode of the Nāga.

B 7 (726); PLATES XVI, XXXI

ON an intermediate pillar, probably of the South-Eastern quadrant,[1] now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 10). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 133, No. 15, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 34, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 34; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 70, No. 178; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II, p. 63, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LVIII (64); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 11 f.

TEXT:

Supāvaso yakho

TRANSLATION:

The Yaksha Supāvasa (*Suprāvṛisha*).

The image to which the label refers resembles in attitude and dress the Yaksha figures described under Nos. B 1, B 3, B 4, and B 5. The Yaksha is standing on the back of an elephant carrying a garland in his trunk.

The Yaksha is not known from other sources. His name probably goes back to Suprāvṛisha, as suggested by Hultzsch. As the reading of the label is quite distinct, I cannot agree with Barua-Sinha who propose to correct it to *Supavāso*, merely because a lay-sister bearing the name of Suppavāsā is mentioned in *A.* I,26. I refrain from discussing their further fantastic explanation of the name.

B 8 (770); PLATES XVI, XXXI

ON an intermediate pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 16). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 22; 136, No. 59, and Pl. XXIII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 73, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 73; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 73 f.,

[1] Cunningham's remark on p. 20 that the pillar belonged to the West is probably a mistake. On the other face of the pillar a female figure, called a Lotus-nymph by Barua, is to be seen, standing on a lotus-cluster, cf. Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. I, p. 19, and Vol. II, 75.

No. 186; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 73 f. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXV (78); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941) p. 16 ff.

TEXT:

Sirimā devata

TRANSLATION:

The goddess Sirimā (*Śrīmatī*).

The goddess is represented standing on a rail like the Yakha Suchiloma (B 9) represented on the opposite side of the pillar. The artist did not, as usual with other deities, characterize both these figures by a *vāhana.* The goddess carries in her right hand, which is damaged, the same object, probably a *chāmarī*, as the goddess figured in the centre of Cunningham's Pl. XXI.

Amidst the solitary figures at Bhārhut some smaller deities are found the names of which occur in the canonical literature, and which therefore have their proper home probably in Eastern India. So our goddess as also the Yakha Suchiloma (B 9) are probably figures from the old Buddhist literature. Sirimā as a woman's name occurs in the Nidānakathā (*J.*1, 34, 26; 41, 3), and also in the donor inscription No. A 48. It is the feminine form of Sirima which appears as the name of a man above in No. A 110. It corresponds to P. *Sirimatī*, Sk. *Śrīmatī* as remarked long ago by Hultzsch. In the *Vv.* I, 16, we are told that there was a beautiful courtesan at Rājagaha, called Sirimā, who on account of her devotion to the Buddha was reborn as a goddess.[1] But the Sirimā represented on the Bhārhut pillar shares probably only the name with this goddess. In the *Mvu.* and in the *Lalitav.* there is a travelling-benediction pronounced by the Buddha for the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika. The text, preserved in two only slightly different versions, contains a list of divine maids (*devakumārikā*) who, in groups of eight, guard the four quarters. The first two guardians of the Western region are called Lakshmīvatī and Śrīmatī in the *Mvu.* (III, 307, 8), and Śriyāmatī and Yaśamatī in the *Lalitav.* (389, 7), where Śriyāmatī is only an attempt to sanskritise Sirimatī in accordance with the metre. This devakumārikā Sirimatī,[2] having her seat in the West, is undoubtedly identical with our *Sirimā devatā* and her statue has probably been, not without reason, assigned to a pillar of the South-West quadrant to protect that side of the Stūpa. Of course she too has nothing to do with the deity Śrī (Siri). Siri appears in the Jātakas in allegorical poems as personification of good luck, thus in the Sirikālakaṇṇij. (382) by the side of Kālī, the personification of bad luck. Here she is the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, the regent of the East, whereas the father of Kālī, Virūpakkha, is the regent of the West. In the Sudhābhojanaj. (535) Siri, Good Luck, Āsā, Hope, Saddhā, Devotion, and Hirī, Modesty, are the daughters of Sakka. They show themselves in different directions, and here also (G. 44) the East is assigned to Siri.

It is completely false when Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 217, compares the Sirimā of Bhārhut with the Diana of Ephesus for he sees a token of fertility in her developed breasts. If the artist gave well-developed breasts, thin waist, and broad hips to the statue, he did not give them as special tokens of fertility, but he intended only to accomplish the ideal of the female body as it has been described to us again and again in Indian poetry.[3]

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[1] Her story is told at length in *DhA.*, Vol. III, p. 104 ff., 308 ff. and *VvA.*, p. 74 ff., and alluded to in *Mil.*, p. 350.

[2] In *Mahābh.*, 9, 2621 Śrīmatī appears among the Mothers in the retinue of Skanda.

[3] e.g. *Kāvyādarśa* 1, 87, 91; 2,218.

B 9 (771); Plates XVI, XXXI

On the opposite side of the same pillar as B 8, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 16). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111. Cunningham's reading was corrected by Childers, *Academy* Vol. VI (1874), p. 586; edited again by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 136, No. 60, and Pl. XXII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 74, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 74; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 69 f., No. 177; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 61 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LVIII (63); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941) p. 12 f.

Text:

Suchilomo yakho

Translation:

The Yaksha Suchiloma (*Sūchiloman*).

According to a Sutta which is found in the *Sn.* p. 47 ff. and again in the *S.* I, 207 f., the Yaksha Sūchiloma lived at Gayā in the *Ṭaṁkita-mañcha*[1] in the company of the Yaksha Khara. When the Buddha dwelt at that place, Sūchiloma behaved haughtily and rudely towards him, but the Buddha calmly answered his question about the origin of passion and ill-will. In both commentaries on the texts the Yaksha is said to owe his name to the quality of the hair of his body which was like needles, thus proving that the original name was Sūchiloma. Similarly the Yaksha whose taming by the Bodhisattva is told in *J.* 55 is called Silesaloma, because everything stuck fast upon the hair of his body. In the label, *Suchilomo*, of course, may be an inaccurate spelling for *Sūchilomo*, but it is remarkable that there is nothing in the image to indicate that bodily peculiarity, the Yaksha being represented as an ordinary well-dressed man who, with folded hands, stands on a rail. Probably this conception of the Yaksha is influenced, as Barua remarks, by the later legend occurring in the *SnA.*, where it is said that Sūchiloma and Khara by the advice of the Buddha became friendly, "gold-coloured and decked with heavenly ornaments". It is perhaps for the same reason that the name Sūchiloma is frequently changed in the manuscripts to *Suchiloma* (Sk. *śuchiloman*), 'White-haired'.

In later times Sūchiloma was metamorphosed into a serpent. In the snake-spell of the *Bower MS.* p. 224 he is called *Sūchīloma*, in that of the *Mahām.* p. 221 *Sūchiroman.*

B 10 (790); Plates XVI, XXXII

On the same pillar as No. A 39, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 31). The inscription is engraved by another hand than No. A 39. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 20; 137, No. 78 and Pl. XXIII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 89, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 89; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), 72, No. 183; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 71, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXIV (74); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 12.

[1] Barua's supposition (*Barh.*, III, p. 55) that the rail beneath the figure of Sūchiloma is representing the Ṭaṁkitamañcha is quite Ṭunbelievable. According to the commentary the Ṭaṁkitamañcha consisted of a stone-plate put on four stones. The explanation of the word given in *AO.*, XV, p. 101, seems to me doubtful.

TEXT:

yakhini Sudasana[1]

TRANSLATION:

The Yakshiṇī Sudasana (*Sudarśanā*).

The label refers to a female figure raising her right hand and standing on a *makara*. Sudarśana occurs as the name of a Yaksha in the *Mahām.* p. 231, also of a Nāgarāja, *ibid.* 246 (cp. B 37), but Sudarśanā does not seem to be known in Buddhist literature. In the *Mbh.* 13, 2, 4 ff., Sudarśanā is the daughter of king Duryodhana of Māhishmatī and the river goddess (*devanadī*) Narmadā. She was so beautiful that Agni fell in love with her and married her. I am inclined to identify the Sudarśanā of the Epic with the Yakshiṇī represented in the sculpture. The daughter of a river goddess and wife of a god may well have been called a Yakshiṇī in the language of this time, and her *vāhana*, the *makara*, seems to indicate that she was the child of a river and perhaps a river goddess herself, just as her daughter-in-law Oghavatī, of whom it is said in the *Mbh.* that half of her became a river (*ibid.* V. 168). Her descent from the river Narmadā and the king of Māhishmatī shows that she has been a local deity of Central India. She could therefore be very well known and adored in Bhārhut also.

B 11 (717); PLATES XVI, XXXII

ON the same pillar as No. A 71, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 17). The inscription is engraved in continuation of No. A 71. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* p. 22; 132, No. 6, and Pl. XXIII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 26 (second part), and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 26 (second part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 73, No. 184; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 71 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXIV (75); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 15 f.

TEXT:

Chulakokā devatā

TRANSLATION:

The goddess Chulakokā (Little *Kokā*).

The goddess is represented standing on an elephant under an Aśoka tree in full flower.[2] With her right hand she grasps a branch above her head, while her left arm and her left leg embrace the stem of the tree which is entwined also by the elephant's tusk. The goddess has a counterpart in the goddess Mahākokā represented on a pillar at Pataora (No. B 12). Barua-Sinha boldly translate Kokā by hunter-goddess, but there is absolutely nothing in the outward appearance of the goddess nor in her name to warrant this meaning. Sk. *koka* denotes the wolf, the *chakravāka* and a certain insect. Lexicographers give it also the meaning of frog and date-tree and quote it as a surname of Vishṇu. As a personal name it occurs already in the *Ś.Br.* and Koka is perhaps the name of a river. But *koka* has nowhere the meaning of dog,[3] as supposed by Barua-Sinha, and the fact that in the

[1] The first *akshara* has an *i*-sign and an *u*-sign.

[2] I do not understand how Barua-Sinha can declare that it may be a date-palm.

[3] That *kokā* in *J.* 547, 302 does not mean dog, but wolf, was shown long ago by Cowell and Rouse, *J.*, Vol. V, p. 273, note 1.

DhA. (III, 31-34) a hunter, who has a pack of hounds with him, bears the name of Koka cannot possibly prove that the goddess Kokā had anything to do with hunting. I have no doubt that Kokā is an abbreviated name and that Mahākokā and Chulakokā are identical with the goddesses (*devatā*) Kokanadā and Chulla-Kokanadā, the daughters of the rain-god Pajjunna, who in *S.* I, 29 ff. are said to have recited some Gāthās before the Buddha, when he was residing in the Kūṭāgārasālā at Vesālī.[1] In the labels, the names are used in a shortened form as Bhīma for Bhīmasena. As Kokā is another name of Chakravāka both goddesses owe their names probably to their voice resembling that of a *chakravāka*.[2]

B 12 (811); Plates XVI, XXXII

On a pillar, now at Pataora.[3] Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 22, note 4; 139, No. 98, and Pl. LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 60; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, note 27; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 73, No. 185; Barua, *Bārh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 72; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 15 f.

Text:

Mahakoka devata[4]

Translation:

The goddess Mahakoka (Great *Kokā*).

With regard to the goddess see the remarks on No. B 11.

[1] This identification is also suggested by S. Paranavitana, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XVI (1953), p. 177, who translates Kokanadā and Chulla-Kodanadā as 'Lily' and 'Little Lily'.

[2] A female figure very similar to that of Chulakokā is represented on a pillar shown by Barua, *Barh.*, III, Pl. LXV (76). She stands on a bridled horse winding her left hand and left leg round the stem of a tree while she grasps a branch hanging above her with her right hand. A label is missing. Barua l.c. II, p. 72, is of the opinion that we should be fully justified to take her as Majjhimakokā, the middle hunter-goddess, and to see in her the tutelary deity of the middle class of hunters ranging the forest on horse-back, whereas Chullakokā is the tutelary goddess of the special class of hunters ranging the wood on the back of elephants, and Mahākokā is a goddess of the general class of hunters. I am afraid such a peculiar addition to mythology will not find much approval.

[3] Perhaps, as Barua (*Barh.*, II, p. 72) supposes, this is the pillar figured in Cunningham, *StBh.*, Pl. XX, and Barua, *Barh.*, Pl. XXIII (19), where a woman is represented grasping with her right hand the twig of an Aśoka tree in full bloom, but there is no inscription visible in the photograph. She resembles the figure designated as Chulakokā but the workmanship is much cruder than that of the latter.

[4] From Cunningham's eye-copy.

2. B 13-17 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO BODHI-TREES OF THE FORMER BUDDHAS.

B 13 (779); Plates V, XXXIII

On the same pillar as No. A 29, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 8). The inscription is engraved over a medallion, directly below the donative inscription No. A 29, but in a different hand. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 46; 113; 137, No. 68, and Pl. XXIX and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 81 (second part), *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 81 (second part); Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V, No. 4; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 39, No. 135; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 1 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXXV (26); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 26 ff.

Text:

bhagavato Vipasino bodhi

Translation:

The Bodhi tree of the holy Vipasi (*Vipaśyin*).

On different pillars of the railing the Bodhi trees of five predecessors of the historical Buddha are depicted (Cunningham, Pl. XXIX and XXX). The Bodhi tree of Sikhin who is the second in the well-known row of the seven Buddhas is missing. But we may almost certainly assume that the relief which represented the tree of Sikhin has been destroyed or deported. All the five available reliefs have labels which do not leave any doubt about their identification. The addition of *sālo* after *bodhi* in the inscription B 14 makes it certain that *bodhi* is used in all the reliefs in the sense of Bodhi tree as it is frequently done in Pāli and Sanskrit literature.[1]

The representation in all the five sculptures is stereotyped. On both sides of the stone seat, which rises above the Bodhi tree, a person is shown kneeling. These kneeling figures are sometimes two women (B 16, B 17), sometimes two men (B 13), sometimes a man and a woman (B 14, B 15). Some other people stand behind them, normally two as in B 14-17. In all these four reliefs, one person is depicted on both sides of the tree, offering garlands or strewing flowers, and the arrangement is always such that a man stands behind a kneeling woman, and a woman behind a kneeling man. In our relief (B 13), however, nine men, five on the left and four on the right side of the tree—the trunk of which is decorated with a broad band—are represented offering garlands or bouquets, or showing their veneration. These persons are meant as human worshippers which suggests that the sculpture illustrates, not the enlightenment of the Buddha, but the worship of the Bodhi tree (see B 14).

The names of the five Buddhas occurring in the different labels are the same as in Pāli. But of the Bodhi trees only the four of the last Buddhas depicted in the reliefs correspond exactly to the statements in the Mahāpadānasutta (*D.* II. 4), in the *Bv.* and in the Nidānakathā (*J.* I. 41 ff.), according to which the Sāla (Shorea robusta) belongs to

[1] Cf. B 14, f. n. 2, p. 84.

Vessabhū, the Śirīsha (Acacia sirissa) to Kakusandha, the Udumbara (Ficus glomerata) to Konāgamana, the Nyagrodha (Ficus indica) to Kassapa. These texts however mention that the Bodhi tree of Vipassi is the Pāṭali tree (Bignonia suaveolens), and, as pointed out by Anderson,[1] it is a special feature of our medallion that the tree represented is not the Pāṭali, as assumed by Cunningham, but undoubtedly the Aśoka tree (Saraca Indica). A comparison of our tree with the unmistakable representation of the Aśoka tree embraced by a female deity with a leg (as in B 11) does not leave any doubt regarding the identity of the tree.

The divergence is surprising, but it would be wrong to attribute it to a mere mistake of the sculptor. He evidently followed another tradition, for the same tree reappears in Sāñchī. There on six architraves of the four gates of Stūpa I the seven last Buddhas are symbolized by their Bodhi trees or their stūpas. In two cases, on the reverse of the uppermost architrave of the eastern gate (I) and on the obverse of the middle architrave of the northern gate (II), the seven Bodhi trees are represented one beside the other. On the four other architraves, trees and stūpas alternate. In two cases, on the reverse of the uppermost architrave of the southern gate (III) and on the obverse of the uppermost architrave of the western gate (IV) the arrangement is tree, stūpa, tree, stūpa, tree, stūpa, tree. In the remaining two cases, on the obverse of the uppermost architrave of the eastern gate (V) as well as on that of the northern gate (VI), the succession from the left to the right[2] is: stūpa, stūpa, tree, stūpa, tree, stūpa, stūpa. As far as I can judge from the photographs of the architraves the first tree to the left in (I) is an Aśvattha, the last to the right an Aśoka, in (II) the first tree on the left is an Aśoka, the last to the right, which seems to be much weather-beaten, can be an Aśvattha. Now probably as the traditional succession of the Buddhas is followed in the arrangement, running once from the left to the right and at another time from the right to the left, and, as the Aśvattha or the Pippala (Ficus religiosa) is assigned in the whole Buddhist literature of all times to Śākyamuni,[3] we may assume with certainty that the Aśoka tree is the tree of Buddha Vipaśyin as far as these sculptures are concerned. Of the rest of the architraves, I have only photographs of (IV) and (V) at my disposal which are sufficiently clear to confirm the above result. In (IV), the first tree to the left is probably an Aśoka, the last to the right is certainly an Aśvattha. In (V) the tree to the left is an Aśvattha, the tree to the right an Aśoka. In (IV) and (V) therefore apparently the first and the seventh Buddha are represented by their Bodhi trees, the other Buddhas by stūpas. The assignment of the Aśoka tree to Vipassin can also be confirmed by literary evidence. In the *Mahām.* it is said of Vipaśyin: *aśokam āśritya jino Vipaśyī* (l.c. p. 227).

B 14 (714); Plates XVII, XXXIII

Inscription on the same pillar as No. A 38, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 12). The inscription is engraved below a medallion. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 132, No. 3, and Pl. XXIX and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 24, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 24; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 40, No. 137;

[1] *Cat.*, I, p. 30.

[2] Left or right has to be understood from the spectator's point of view.

[3] Bloch's statement (*ASIAR.*, 1908-9, p. 139, f. n. 2) that the Nidānakathā and other Pāli sources call the tree a *nigrodha* rests on a misunderstanding of the passage in the Nidānakathā *J.*, I, 68 f. The Nyagrodha under which the Bodhisattva was sitting, when Sujātā was bringing the milk-rice to him, does not have anything to do with the Bodhi tree. In the Nidānakathā, the Aśvattha is expressly mentioned as the Bodhi tree of Śākyamuni, see *J.*, I, 34 ff. and *J.*, I, 15 *assattharukkhamūle abhisambujjhissati.*

Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 2 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXXV (28), Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 26 ff.

TEXT:

bhagavato Vesabhuṇā[1] bodhi sālo

TRANSLATION:

The Bodhi tree of the holy Vesabhu (*Viśvabhū*), a Sāla tree.

The medallion represents a Sāla tree (Shorea robusta) hung with garlands, with a seat decorated with flowers in front of it. On the top of the seat, under an umbrella, there is a *chakra* surmounted by a *triśūla*. Two worshippers are kneeling on each side of the seat, a man to the left and a woman to the right. Behind the man there is a woman holding a garland and behind the woman a man scattering small objects, probably flowers, from a small bowl which he holds in his left hand.

The Sāla tree is mentioned in Pāli (*D.* II, 4; *J.* I. 42) and in the *Mahām.* p. 227 as the tree under which Viśvabhū obtained enlightenment. The addition of *sālo* in the inscription makes it certain that *bodhi* is used here in the sense of Bodhi tree as is frequently done in Pāli and Sanskrit literature[2], and the presence of human worshippers in the relief affords additional proof that the sculpture illustrates, not the enlightenment of the Buddha, as supposed by Bloch[3], but the worship of the Bodhi tree as a *pāribhogika chaitya*. The name of the Buddha is the same as in Pāli (*Vessabhū*). In Sanskrit it appears as *Viśvabhū*; the nominative *Viśvabhuk* (*Mvp.* 2, 8; *Mahām.* p. 227)[4] is, of course, due to wrong Sanskritisation.

B 15 (783); PLATES XVII, XXXIII

ON a pillar of the North-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 7). The inscription is engraved over a medallion. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 46; 114; 137, No. 72, and Pl. XXIX and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 84, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 84; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. I (1919), p. 20, and Pl. V, No. 17; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 40, No. 138; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 3, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXXVI (29); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 26 ff.

TEXT:

bhagavato Kakusadhasa bodhi

TRANSLATION:

The Bodhi tree of the holy Kakusadha (*Kakutsandha*).

[1] The last *akshara* is really *ṇā*, but *ṇā* is certainly only an error for *no*, the *e*-sign being by mistake elongated to the right.

[2] Cf. *agamā bodhisamīpaṁ J.*, 479, 1; *bodhi tassa bhagavato assattho ti pavuchchati J.*, Nid. G. 79; *J.*, I, 34 ff.; IV, 228 ff.; *bodhimūle SnA.*, 32; 391; *tesu yassa yassa rukkhassa mūle chatumaggañāṇasaṁkhātaṁ bodhiṁ buddhā paṭivijjhanti so so bodhī ti vuchchhati DA.*, 416; *bodhīya mūle Mvu.*, 1, 3; *bodhimūle*; *yāvad rājñā bodhau śatasahasraṁ dattaṁ Divy.* 393; *śrīvṛikshaḥ pippalo 'śvattho budhair bodhiś cha kathyate Hal.*, 2, 41; *bodhiḥ pippale Hem. An.*, 2, 240.

Hemādri I, 136, 22; 137, 2. E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, I (Paris, 1844), p. 77, Note 2; p. 388, Note 1.

[3] *ASI. Ann. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 139, Note 1; see the remarks below under No. B 23.

[4] But the instrumental *Viśvabhuvā*, *ibid.*, p. 249. *Viśvabhṛit*, the form of the name adopted by Barua is wholly unfounded.

The lower part of the medallion has been broken off, but enough remains to show that it was of the common type described under Nos. B 13, B 14, B 16, and B 17. In the middle is a Śirīsha tree (Acacia sirissa) in full blossom. In front of it is a seat on each side of which a worshipper is kneeling, a woman on the left and a man on the right. Two persons are standing on each side of the tree, a woman holding a garland on the right and on the left a man throwing flowers from a cup which he carries in his left hand. The literary sources agree with the sculpture in assigning the Śirīsha tree to Kakusandha (*D.* II, 4; *J.* I, 42; *Mahām.* p. 227).

The Pāli form of the Buddha's name is *Kakusandha* (*D.* II, 2 ff.; *M.* I, 333 ff.; *Th.* 1187 f. and *J.* 1, 42 ff.; 94). As the name seems to be a compound of *kakud* and *saṁdha*, we should expect rather *Kakussandha*. In Sanskrit the name appears regularly in the strange form *Krakuchchhanda* (*Mvu.* I, 294; 318; II, 265; III, 240 f.; 243; *Lalitav.* 5; 281; 283; *Divy.* 333; *Mvp.* 2, 9; *Mahām.* p. 227; 250; *Hem. Abh.* 236).[1] The form *Krakutsanda* occurs only *Mvu.* I, 2 and as variant reading *Mvp.* 2, 9.

B 16 (722); Plates XVII, XXXIII

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 5). The inscription is engraved over a medallion. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 114; 132, No. 11, and Pl. XXIX and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 30, and Pl. ; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 30; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. I (1919), p. 19, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 40 f., No. 139; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 4, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXXVI (30); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 26 ff.

Text:

bhagavato Konāgamenasa[2] bedhi[3]

Translation:

The Bodhi tree of the holy Konāgamana.

The medallion over which the inscription is engraved is of the same type as the medallion described under Nos. B 13, B 14, B 15, and B 17. In the centre there is an Udumbara tree (Ficus glomerata) hung with garlands. In front of it is a seat formed of a slab supported by two pillars. On each side of it a woman kneels kissing the seat, while a man stands on either side of the tree, the one on the left offering a garland, the other holding in his left hand a bowl filled with some round objects, probably flowers, which he scatters with his right hand.

In conformity with the representation in the relief Konāgamana's Bodhi tree is everywhere stated to be the Udumbara tree (*D.* II, 4; *J.* I, 43; *Mahām.* p. 227).

Konāgamenasa in the inscription is apparently a clerical error for *Konāgamanasa* just as *bedhi* for *bodhi*. In Pāli the form of the name varies between Konāgamana and

[1] Cf. E. Burnouf, *Introduction*, I, p. 225, p. 414.

[2] Read *Konāgamanasa*.

[3] Read *bodhi*. The engraver has forgotten to add the vowel-stroke to the right. (A horizontal stroke to the left of *dhi* could be seen in the rubbing. This may not have anything to do with the missing right-hand vowel stroke of *bo*.)

Koṇāgamana (*D.* I, 2 ff.; *J.* I, 42 ff.; 94), while in the inscription on the pillar of Nigālī Sāgar it is written Konākamana. In Sanskrit literature it is distorted to Konākamuni (*Mvu.* II, 265; III, 240 f., 243; *Mahām.* p. 227) and, under the influence of popular etymology, to Kanakamuni (*Mvu.* I, 294; 318; *Lalitav.* 5; *Divy.* 333; Dharmasaṁgraha VI; *Mvp.* 2, 10; *Mahām.* p. 250). Kanakamuni, ' Gold-Sage ', further gave rise to Kanakāhvaya (*Lalitav.* 281; 283) and Kāñchana (*Hem. Abh.* 236).

B 17 (760); Plates XVII, XXXIII

On the same pillar as No. A 40, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 7). The inscription is engraved over a medallion below No. A 40, but by a different hand. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 45; 114; 135, No. 49, and Pl. XXX and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 64 (second part), and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 64 (second part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 41, No. 140; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 4, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXXVI (31); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 26 ff.

Text:

bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi

Translation:

The Bodhi tree of the holy Kasapa (*Kāśyapa*).

The medallion to which the label belongs is of the same type as the medallions described under Nos. B 13-16. The middle is occupied by a tree which by its leaves and berries is characterized as a Nyagrodha tree (Ficus indica), though the pendent roots are omitted, perhaps, as suggested by Cunningham, to make room for the many garlands hung up on the twigs. In front of the tree is a seat. On each side of it a woman is represented embracing the trunk of the tree, the one on the left kneeling and the other on the right sitting on a *morhā* and turning the back to the spectator. On each side of the tree a man stands carrying a garland.

The sculpture agrees with the literary tradition in representing the Banian tree as Kāśyapa's Bodhi tree; see *D.* II, 4; *J.* I, 43; *Mahām.* p. 227.

3. B 18-40 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO CERTAIN SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

B 18 (777); Plates XVII, XXXIV

On the left outer face of the same pillar as No. A 59, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 3). The inscription is engraved on the right hand pilaster of the middle relief.

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 113; 137, No. 66, and Pl. XVI and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 27 ff., No. 23; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 80, and Pl. ; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 80; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 53 f., No. 152; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 14 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLI (37); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 170 ff.

Text:

Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato[1] bhagavato[2] sāsani[3] paṭisaṁdhi

Translation:

Descended from (the hall of) the Great Assembly the angel Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) apprises the Holy One of (his future) reincarnation.

The interpretation of the inscription is to be based on the sculpture. The centre of the relief is occupied by a seat surmounted by a parasol from which pendants hang down. The surface of the seat is decorated with ornamental bands and covered with flowers and *pañchāṅgulikas*. On the foot-rest before the seat two foot-prints are seen, placed side by side and each marked with a wheel. A large crowd has gathered round the seat. With the exception of one person kneeling before the seat and touching the right foot-print, all are standing with their hands joined in devotion. Two figures in the left lower corner are represented with wings, thus showing that the assembly consists not of men, but of gods. The kneeling figure undoubtedly is the devaputra Arhadgupta of the label. Barua and Sinha give a translation[4] of the label which disregards the most elementary rules of grammar, and further they give an explanation of the sculpture which is quite opposed to it. They interpret the sculpture as the visit of Arhadgupta to the palace of Śuddhodana for paying homage to the newly born Boddhisattva and predicting the inception of the Law of the Divine teacher. A glance at the plate is sufficient to show the impossibility of this explanation. The older one of Hoernle is also untenable. Hoernle reads *dhokato* instead of *vokato* and takes it as a present participle of a verb **dhokkati* ' to greet respectfully ' which he infers from Hindi *dhok* or *ḍhok* ' obedient ', ' greeting '. The two last words which he reads *sāsati patisaṁdhi(ṁ)* may mean, according to him, that Arahaguta praises the re-incarnation of the Buddha and in his opinion the relief refers to the ' great assembly ' in the Mahāvana near Kapila-

[1] The *v* of *vokato* differs from the *v* of *devaputo* and *Bhagavato* by showing no vertical. But all other readings suggested for the *akshara* are out of question.

[2] As pointed out by Hultzsch, the left half of the *o*-sign of *to* is very short, but the reading *to* is practically certain.

[3] Read *sāsati*.

[4] " In the great assembly (of the gods) the future inauguration of the law of the Divine Master is being announced by the Angel Arhadgupta, the protector of the Arhats. "

vatthu which the Mahāsamayasutta (*D.* II, 253 ff.) deals with. This text narrates how the gods approach from all the worlds in order to see the Buddha and the monks and how the Buddha takes this as an opportunity to announce the names of all these gods to the monks. In my opinion this explanation of Hoernle is quite impossible on account of the fact that the scene represented in the relief does not take place in the Mahāvana but in heaven. Nothing hints at a forest. Even the throne does not stand under a tree. It is only surmounted by an umbrella. If, however, the scene of the event is in heaven then the Tushita heaven only can be meant in which the Bodhisattva dwells before his being born in the world[1]. Accordingly also the *paṭisaṁdhi* of the label can only refer to his future incarnation. It is further impossible that the *paṭisaṁdhi* is being praised, for *sāsati* cannot at all mean 'praise'. *sāsati* is used in the sense of 'to inculcate', 'to inform', 'to instruct something'. *sāsani* is certainly a scribe's mistake for *sāsati*; *Arahaguto devaputo.... sāsati paṭisaṁdhi(ṁ)* therefore can only mean, 'the devaputa Arahaguta proclaims the future incarnation'. The genitive *bhagavato* can be connected with *paṭisaṁdhi(ṁ)*, but with the verb *sāsati* as well, for verbs in the meaning of 'to say' or 'to inform' are construed in Sanskrit and in Prakrit very commonly with the genitive. Now we read in the Nidānakathā (*J.* I. 48) that the goddesses of all ten thousand Chakkavālas having heard of the Buddhahalāhala came together according to a fixed rule in some Chakkavāla and that from there they went to the Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven and announced to him that the time had arrived for him to become a Buddha for the welfare of the world (*tadā pana sabbā pi tā......ekachakkavāle sannipatitvā Tusitabhavane Bodhisattassa santikaṁ gantvā......so vo dāni kālo mārisa Buddhattāya samayo mārisa Buddhattāyā ti yāchiṁsu*). This narration agrees exactly with the relief and the inscription, if we take Arahaguta as the speaker of the gods and connect *Bhagavato*—as also the order of the words suggests—with *sāsati*. Then we can translate the whole as above. *Vokato* apparently is to be read *vokkaṁto* and corresponds to Sk. *vyavakrāntaḥ* as Pāli *vokkanti* to *vyavakrānti*; cf. *gabbhe vokkantito dukkhaṁ* (*disvā*), *Therag.* 709. From the term we may gather that Arhadgupta was an inhabitant of one of the celestial abodes above the Tushita heaven. *Mahāsāmāyikā* is a derivative of *mahāsamāya*=Pāli *mahāsamaya*, Sk. *mahāsamāja*, which denotes the Great Assembly of the gods in the title of the Sūtra mentioned above. It is probably to be taken as the name of the *sabhā* where the great assembly took place.

It is of importance for judging the connection of the sculptures with the literary tradition that this request of the gods is not mentioned in the *Mvu.*, and it is told in the *Lalitav.* (p. 11 ff.) in quite a different form. Here again the narrow relationship between the sculptures and the Pāli tradition is evident. Whether the personality of Arahaguta, whose name does not occur anywhere in literature, has disappeared in the Ceylonese tradition or whether it has been added in the Indian tradition cannot be decided. In Bhārhut, Arahaguta appears once again in a similar role in the relief which represents the renunciation of the Bodhisattva (B 20). The Nidānakathā (*J.* I. 64, 1 ff.) only speaks of goddesses accompanying the Bodhisattva, while in the relief one of the figures is marked out by the label as Arahaguto devaputo.[2]

B 19 (801); Plates XVII, XXXV

On the same pillar as No. A 73, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 7). Edited

[1]His presence is indicated in the sculpture by the foot-prints on the foot-rest.

[2]About the alleged deviations of the inscriptions and the sculptures from the Pāli canon pointed out by Minayeff in his *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, it has already been shown by Oldenberg *ZDMG.*, LII, p. 640 ff. that they do not prove anything.

by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112; *StBh.* (1879), p. 83; 138, No. 89, and Pl. XXVIII and LV; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories* (1880), p. CIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 98, and Pl.; Burgess, *ASSI.*, Vol. I (1887), p. 65, note 3; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 98; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. I (1919), p. 20, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 52 f. No. 151; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 11 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXVI (35); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 45-52.

TEXT:

bhagavato ūkraṁti[1]

TRANSLATION:

The conception of the Holy one.

In the sculpture Māyā is represented sleeping on her bed. She is lying in full dress on her right side with her right hand under her head. A lamp on an ornamental stand is burning at the foot of the bed, while a water-vessel is placed at the other end. Two women seated on cushions are in attendance, one having a *chāmarī*, the other raising her hands as if in astonishment. A third woman is sitting on the opposite side with her hands joined in the attitude of devotion. In the upper part of the medallion a big six-tusked elephant with an ornamental cloth on the top of his head is seen flying down through the air.

The question is whether the descent of the Bodhisattva in the shape of an elephant was meant by the artist only as a dream of the mother or as a reality. The legend has been treated in details by Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt*, p. 153 ff. The texts of the Pāli canon do not yet know it; it is mentioned neither in the Achchhariyabbhutadhammas. of *M.* (123) nor in the Mahāpadānas. of *D.* (14). In *M.* III, 120 it is only said shortly: *sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā chavitvā mātu kuchchhiṁ okkami*, so also in *D.* II, 12 of Vipassin with the addition: *ayam ettha dhammatā.* In the original text of Aśvaghosha's *Buddhach.* I, 3 the Bodhisattva is clearly indicated as a fruit of the conjugal intercourse of Śuddhodana and Māyā. In the following verse the entering of the elephant is mentioned quite shortly as a dream of Māyā. In the Nidānakathā, *J.* I. 50, 2 ff. as well, it is only said at first that the Bodhisattva took his rebirth in the womb of the queen. Later on in a sort of appendix the entering of the elephant as a dream is narrated in greater extent than anywhere else. It is peculiar that the description ends with the words: " So he took his rebirth under the constellation Uttarāshāḍhā " (*evaṁ uttarāsāḷhanakkhattena paṭisandhiṁ gaṇhi*).

In the story in the *Mvu.* II, 8, 16 ff. as well as in the identical narration of the conception of the Buddha Dīpaṁkara in I, 205, 2 ff. in general a dream is told, but in the verses I, 207, 8 ff.; II, 11, 19, ff. it is said that the Buddha having taken the form of an elephant,

[1] Although the meaning of *ūkraṁti* is undoubtedly 'conception', it is difficult to account for the form of the word. [Cf. above p. VI, §2 (II).] The term used for conception in *Mvu.*, II, 17, 11; *Lalitav.* 76, 7, is *garbkāvakrānti*, and *avakram* is generally used for the Buddha's entering into the womb of his mother *Mvu.* II, 8, 19 f.; 9, 6; 20; 10, 6; 11, 21; 12, 2; 6; 16; 20; *Lalitav.*, 55, 5. Hultzsch therefore read *okraṁti* in the inscription, but the first letter, as he remarks himself, is distinctly *ū*. Unless we will assume a mistake of the engraver, it will be impossible to trace *ūkraṁti* back to *avakrānti*, there being no evidence that *ava* ever became *ū* in any dialect. The prefix *ū* can go back only to *upa*, as taught by Hemachandra in his grammar I, 173. The examples quoted by him from the Prakrit can be parallelled by forms of *ūhad* and *ūhas* in Pāli (*Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, 1954, §110). I am therefore of opinion that *ūkraṁti* represents Sk. *upakrānti*, and in support of this view I may refer to the ancient verse in *Mvu.*, II, 8, 18 and *Lalitav.*, 55, 8, where the ordinary *kukshim avakrāntaḥ* is replaced by *udaram upagataḥ*.

like a white cloud, entered the womb of his mother: *pāṇḍaravarāhakanibho bhavitva gajarūpi shaḍḍanto.... mātuḥ kukshismiṁ okrānto.* In the following verse I, 207, 11 f.; II, 12, 1 f. the queen narrates this to her husband as a fact (*rājavara pāṇḍaro me gajarājā kukshim okrānto*), but immediately afterwards the king speaks to the astrologers of a dream (*supinasmiṁ asya sarve bhaṇātha bhūtaṁ phalavipākaṁ*). As an actual event, the entering of the elephant in the womb of the mother is furthermore spoken of in the praise song of Nāmatideva in I, 98, 12: *Māyāyā devyāḥ kukshismiṁ praviśishu sa kumudasadṛiśo varo gajarūpavāṁ*, as well as in the Gāthā II, 298, 6:

Tushite bhavane divya otaritvā himasamo nāgo bhavitva shaḍvishāṇo
rājño agramahishīṁ pravishṭo kukshiṁ tato trisāhasra prakampe lokadhātu

Windisch thought it possible to add to these passages another one. In *Mvu.* II, 8, 16 f. it is said of the dream of Māyā:

atha supinaṁ jananī jinasya tasmiṁ kshaṇe paśyati varavipākaphalaṁ ॥
himarajatanibho me shaḍvishāṇo sucharaṇachārubhujo suraktaśīrsho ।
udaram upagato gajapradhāno lalitagatiḥ anavadyagātrasandhiḥ ॥

The stanza occurs again in the *Lalitav.* 55, 6 ff.

Māyādevī sukhaśayanaprasuptā imaṁ svapnam apaśyat ।
himarajatanibhaś cha shaḍvishāṇaḥ sucharaṇachārubhujaḥ suraktaśīrshaḥ ।
udaram upagato gajapradhāno lalitagatir dṛiḍhavajragātrasandhiḥ[1] ॥

The *Lalitav.* account is similar in general to that of the *Mvu.* The vision of the elephant is taken as a dream. But in the introductory sentence (55, 3) the remark is found that the Bodhisattva entered the womb of the mother as a young white elephant (*pāṇḍuro gajapoto bhūtvā*). As Windisch mentions, this is hinted at already in the Prachalaparivarta 39, 6 ff. There the Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven asks the assembly of gods in which form he should enter the mother's womb. The gods make different propositions, and afterwards Ugratejas, a Brahmakāyika god, decides the question with the statement that according to the texts of the Brahmins a Bodhisattva has to enter the womb of the mother in the form of a great elephant with six tusks. That the artist of Bhārhut took the matter as a real occurrence is shown by the inscription according to which, the arriving or, if we take *ūkraṁti* as a mistake for *okraṁti*, the descent of the Bodhisattva is represented in the sculpture. The reality of the elephant is also hinted at by the gesture of one of the female attendants sitting in front of the couch. Her raised hands can scarcely be interpreted otherwise than as an expression of astonishment at the miracle[2]. One could object against this view by saying that in the old

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[1]This stanza, apparently old as is shown by the tradition in the texts of two different schools, has been used by the poet of another verse in which the queen narrates her dream (*Lalitav.* 56,14 ff.; 57, 11 ff.):

himarajatanikāśaś chandrasūryātirekaḥ
sucharaṇa suvibhaktaḥ shaḍvishāṇo mahātmā ।
gajavaru dṛiḍhasaṁdhi vajrakalpas surūpaḥ
udari mama pravishṭas tasya hetuṁ śriṇushva (or *śriṇotha*) ॥

The stanza in Pushpitāgrā metre together with the introductory remark reappears also in the story of Dīpaṁkara's conception, *Mvu.* I,205,2 ff.; here, however, with the variant *se*=*asyāḥ* for *me*, and Windisch wished to conclude therefrom that we have originally in the stanza not the words of Māyā, but a story, that means the historification of the dream. But *se* does not stand in the manuscripts. It has been added to the text by Senart as expressly stated by him on p.537. So it is nothing else than a false conjecture for *me* as we can now state on account of *mama* in the recast stanza of the *Lalitav.*

[2]Barua, *Barh.*, II, p. 12, assumes that the maid presses with her hand against the leg of the bed in order to prevent the queen rolling down or to prevent the couch being unbalanced under the pressure of the descending elephant. This explanation seems to me as improbable as the one suggested by St. Kramrisch who takes the maid to be dozing at night.

Indian art the person of the Buddha is not represented, not only in his last existence on earth but also in the immediately preceding period of his stay in the Tushita heaven. That is proved by the relief in the middle of the so called Ajātaśatru pillar (Cunningham Pl. XVI). But it is doubtful whether this practice has been followed in our particular case, for here the Bodhisattva does not appear in human form but in the disguise of an animal. Another consideration is perhaps still more weighty. The representations in Bhārhut follow the standpoint of the Hīnayāna. The Hīnayāna, however, accepted the dream as a prophecy of the birth of a future Buddha, but not the supernatural immaculate conception. This is still maintained with all emphasis in the Sakish (Khotanese) poem of instruction 14, 54-56, and Aśvaghosha adheres to this standpoint. In the Nidānakathā a hint at the historification of the dream is to be found, but only in the appendix mentioned above on p. 89. In the popular belief, however, the historification was apparently already made a fact in the 3rd cent. B.C. At the end of the sixth edict of Aśoka in Dhauli we find *seto*, 'the white one', which refers to the figure of an elephant, and on the rock of Kālsī we find *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' under the figure of an elephant. On the rock of Girnār too, an elephant must have been carved out once. For below the thirteenth edict we find: *(sa)rvasveto hasti sarvalokasukhāharo nāma* "the completely white elephant named 'the bringer of happiness to the whole world'". These inscriptions do not leave any doubt that the carvings of the elephant referred to the Buddha, or to speak more exactly to the Bodhisattva. In this case it seems only possible to relate the representations to the person of the Buddha, and not to a dream prophesying the birth of a Buddha.

Under these circumstances it seems to me more probable that the representation of the conception was intended as a reality. If one likes to consider the gesture of the female attendant as meaningless it would indeed be possible to make the following suggestion: the relief, as the inscription says, depicts the entering of the Bhagavat, but the artist did not know how to express it in some way other than by representing a dream which, at least according to the stories in the *Mvu.* and the *Lalitav.*, took place at the same time as the conception[1]. That seems to be the view of Foucher, who sees (*L'art Gréco-bouddhique* I, 291 ff.) just in such representations the basis of the historification of the original dream. An altogether sure decision of the question is scarcely possible.

In some other point, I believe, I am more justified in deviating from Foucher. The queen in the relief lies on her right side[2], as she does also in the relief of Sāñchī[3], in a relief in Amarāvatī[4] and on the frieze of Boro-Budur[5], whereas in the art of Gandhāra she is depicted always as lying on her left side. Foucher[6] is of the opinion that this is due to an inadvertency or unskilfulness of the old artists. But this reproach is not justified if it can be proved that at their time the dogma of the entering of the Bodhisattva into the right side of the mother did not exist at all. Indeed in the *Mvu.* as well as in the *Lalitav.* it is stated that the Bodhisattva was conceived in the right side of the mother's womb (*mātur dakshiṇe kukshāv upapannaḥ*, *Lalitav.* 60, 16), that after entering he remained in the right side of the mother's womb (*dakshiṇe pārśve paryaṅkam ābhuñjitvā tishṭhati*, *Mvu.* II, 16, 12, also I, 213, 8; *abhyantaragataś cha bodhisattvo Māyādevyāḥ kukshau dakshiṇe pārśve paryaṅkam ābhujya nishaṇṇo*

[1]The possibility of this explanation has already been thought of by Oldenberg, *ZDMG.*, LII, p. 642.
[2]How Cunningham, p. 84, can say "The position leaves her right side exposed" I do not understand.
[3]Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXXIII, Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Pl. IX, 2.
[4]Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, Pl. XXVIII, 1; Foucher l.c. Pl. III.
[5]Pleyte, *Buddha-Legende*, fig. 13.
[6]See also *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, explanation of Pl. III, A 1.

'bhūt Lalitav. 59, 22 f.). Therefore it is said also in the *Lalitav.* 55 that he descended into the right *kukshi*: *dakshiṇāyāṁ*(sic) *kukshāv avakrāmad avakrāntaś cha sa dakshiṇāvacharo 'bhūn na jātu vāmāvacharaḥ.* The entering into the right *kukshi* and the stay of the embryo there is quite in accordance with the Indian belief that a male child develops always in the right *kukshi*[1]. A clear hint at the supernatural entering into the *right* side of the mother occurs only in the Nidānakathā (*J.* I, 50, 22 f.), where it is said that Māyā dreamt that the elephant was walking three times from right to left around her bed and went into her womb having hit her right side: *mātusayanaṁ tikkhattuṁ padakkhiṇaṁ katvā dakkhiṇapassaṁ tāḷetvā*[2] *kuchchhiṁ paviṭṭhasadiso ahosi.* The author of the stanza in the *Mvu.* (I, 203, 1 f.) certainly did not know of an entering from the right side. He says expressly that the queen lay down on her right side:

sā dāni dakshiṇena pārśvena parinyāse śarīravaraṁ ı
kusumalatā va drumavaraṁ śayanaṁ parivelliyāśayitā[3] ıı

The old artists therefore did not have any reason to represent the queen lying on her left side, the less so as this position would have been totally improper for her. According to the Buddhistic view, as it is handed down in *A.* II, 244 f.[4], the human beings devoted to sensual pleasures sleep lying on their left side. This position called *kāmabhogiseyyā* is opposed to the position styled *sīhaseyyā* which owes its name to the belief that the lion takes such position while sleeping. In the *sīhaseyyā* the person lies on the right side, placing one leg upon the other. This is the position taken by the Buddha while lying down; thus *D.* II, 134; 137: *atha kho bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṁ kappesi pāde pādaṁ achchhādhāya*; found shortened also in *J.* I, 119, 10 f.; 330, 27 f.; *DhA.* I, 357 etc. The *sīhaseyyā* is also prescribed for the monk (*A.* IV, 87), especially in the middle watch of the night (*A.* I, 114; II, 40). Therefore strictly speaking just the artists of Gandhāra are guilty of a mistake when representing Māyā in *kāmabhogiseyyā.*

Cunningham says that the artist tries to depict the tusks of the elephant by some strokes as consisting of three teeth on either side. He may be right in this respect, though I cannot find anything of it in the photograph. The relief here conforms with what is said in the *Mvu.* and the *Lalitav.* (*shaḍvishāṇa, Mvu.* I, 205, 3; II, 8, 17; *Lalitav.* 55, 7; 56, 14; *shaḍḍanta, Mvu.* I, 207, 8; II, 11, 19; *shaḍḍanta, Lalitav.* 39, 17; 55, 3). Neither Aśvaghosha nor the Nidānakathā mention this attribute. The decoration of the head of the elephant has been added by the sculptor on his own. In the *Mvu.* and the *Lalitav.* it is only mentioned that he was red-headed (*suraktaśīrsha, Mvu.* I, 205, 3; II, 8, 17; *Lalitav.* 39, 17; 55, 7; *indragopakaśiras, Lalitav.* 55, 3). That the elephant was carrying a white lotus in its trunk is a speciality of the Nidānakathā. In the relief the elephant does not carry a lotus.

B 20 (814); Plates XVIII, XXXII

On a gateway pillar, now at Pataora. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 3, and Pl. XX and LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XI (1886), p. 60; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, note 52; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 54, No. 153; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p.

[1] See the literature given by Windisch l.c., p. 19.

[2] The Singhalese manuscript C[s] reads, however, *phāletvā* 'having split' which is possibly the right reading.

[3] Senart reads in the first line *parinyāse*; the manuscripts, however, read *saṁnyase.* The original reading of the first half of the verse was probably *sā dāniṁ dakkhiṇena passena saṁniyāsi salīlavalaṁ.* In the second half of the stanza stood, as shown by the metre, originally *dumavalaṁ.* The meaning is not changed by these readings.

[4] Cf. *DA.*, 574 f.

17 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXIII (18); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 172.

TEXT:

Arahaguto devaputo[1]

TRANSLATION:

The angel Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*).

The subject of the sculpture of which only the left half is preserved is the *abhinishkramaṇa* of the Bodhisattva. In the upper portion the Bodhisattva, who is indicated by his footprints, is stepping out of the palace, watched by two female deities. In the middle portion the horse Kanthaka is seen being led along the city-wall by Chhanna, while two gods are looking on with their hands reverentially joined and a third is waving a chaurī. A parasol and two chaurīs over the horse show that the Bodhisattva is sitting on it. In the lower portion the horse appears again on its way outside the city, accompanied by several gods rendering homage or giving vent to their delight. One of them is bearing a drum, while the one on the left who stands with his hands joined in devotion, seems to be the leader of the host, as he is designated by the label. We have met him already in the relief described under No. B 18, where he appears as the speaker of the gods exhorting the Bodhisattva to incarnate himself. Buddhist literature seems to ignore his name.

B 21 (775); PLATES XVIII, XXXVI

ON the left outer face of the same pillar as No. A 59, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 3). The inscription is engraved on the uppermost relief on the roof of a building. First published by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112, with correction by Childers–de Zoysa, *Academy*, Vol. VII (1875), p. 454. Edited again by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 109; 136 f., No. 64, and Pl. XVI and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 29 ff., No. 25 a; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 78, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 78; Huber, *BEFEO.* Vol. XIV, No. 1 (1914), p. 14 ff.; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 54 ff. Nos. 155 and 156; Barua, *Bārh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 19 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLII (39).

TEXT:

1 Sudhaṁmā devasabhā
2 bhagavato chūḍāmaho

TRANSLATION:

The hall of the gods Sudhaṁmā (*Sudharmā*).
The festival of the hair-lock of the Holy One.

[B 21 and B 22 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
See the remarks under No. B 22.

B 22 (776); PLATES XVIII, XXXVI

ON the left outer face of the same pillar as No. A 59, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 3). The inscription is engraved on the same relief as No. B 21, on the roof of another building. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 113; *StBh.* (1879), p. 109; 137,

[1]From the photograph of Cunningham's Plate XX.

No. 65, and Pl. XVI and LIV; Hoernle, *IA*. Vol. XI (1882), p. 29 ff., No. 25[b]; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*. Vol. XL (1886), p. 69, No. 79, and Pl.; *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 79; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 54 ff., No. 154; Barua, *Barh*. Vol. II (1934), p. 19 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLII (39).

TEXT:

1 Vejayaṁto pā-
2 sāde[1]

TRANSLATION:

The Vejayaṁta (*Vaijayanta*) palace.

[B 21 and B 22 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

In the Nidānakathā of the *Jātaka* (I, 64 f.) it is told that the Bodhisattva, when he had left his native town, cut off with his own sword his hair together with the head-dress and cast it to the sky. Sakka received it in a golden casket and deposited it in the Chūḷamaṇichetiya in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. As pointed out by Huber[2], the same story, with slight variations, is found in the *Mvu.* (II, 165 f.), in the *Lalitav.* (p. 225), and in the Chinese translation of the Abhinishkramaṇasūtra and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. In these latter texts it is added that on the anniversary of the event the Thirty-three gods celebrate the festival of the hair-lock. This festival is represented in the sculpture. In the left upper corner there is a building surrounded by a railing. It has a pinnacled dome roof and an arched gateway which affords a view of the hair-lock and the head-dress in the interior. They are lying in a bowl placed on a throne and surmounted by a parasol decorated with pendants. On each side a god stands. According to the label the edifice is the hall of the gods Sudharmā, which is frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts[3] as the hall of the Thirty-three gods presided over by Indra and is well known also in epic and classical Sanskrit literature. A late legend of its origin is told in the Kulāvakajātaka (*J.*, Vol. I, 204).

The adjoining building in the right upper corner is a three-storied palace, again surrounded by a railing. In each of the arched doors opening on the balconies of the second and third storeys the head of some person is seen, while on the lower floor Indra is standing with four female attendants around him. He is looking down at the scene below, where four Apsaras are dancing to the music of a band of four male and three female musicians. Among the instruments they are playing on a small drum to be beaten with a stick, a large drum played upon with the hand, and two vīṇās can be distinguished. One of the females seems to be clapping her hands, while the two others may be singing. Vaijayanta, the name of the building, is an epithet applied to all sorts of things belonging to Indra. It occurs in the Buddhist texts in Pāli and Sanskrit as the name of his palace, and it is known also in Brahmanical literature[4]. In *M.* I, 203 Indra is said to have the Vaijayanta palace built after a victory over the Asuras; according to the later legend referred to in the Kulāvakajātaka (*J.*, Vol. I, 203) it rose spontaneously from the ground.

B 23 (739); PLATES XVIII, XXXVII

ON the uppermost relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the

[1] The last *akshara*, which can be read only *de*, is a clerical error for *do*.
[2] See reference B 21.
[3] *D.*, II, 207; *J.*, 489, 20; 494, 3; 523, 1; *Mvu.*, I, 32, 10; III, 198, 2; *Divy.*, p. 220; etc.
[4] *M.*, I, 253; *J.*, 545, 78; *Mvu.*, II, 346, 20; *Lalitav.*, 58, 20; 212, 1; 213, 18; etc.

Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 45; 115; 120; 127; 134, No. 28, and Pl. XIII, XXX and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 255 f., No. 11, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 46, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 46; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (1892), Pl. III (Plate only); Bloch, *ASIAR.* 1908-9 (1912), p. 139, notes 1 and 2, and fig. 2 on p. 145; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 41, No. 141, and p. 56, No. 158; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 5 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 and Pl. XXXVII (32); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 29 ff.

TEXT:

1 bhagavato Sakamunino
2 bodho

TRANSLATION:

The building round the Bodhi tree of the holy Sakamuni (*Śākyamuni*).

The sculpture represents a Pippala or Aśvattha tree (Ficus religiosa) bearing berries. Two small umbrellas are visible on the top of it and streamers hang down from its branches. In front of the trunk, which is decorated with an ornamental band and some foliage, the seat, or *vajrāsana*, stands, consisting of a slab and four supporting pilasters. It is strewn with flowers and surmounted by two *triratnas*. The tree is surrounded by a pillared hall, the sides of which are represented in the peculiar Indian perspective as slanting upwards. The hall has an upper storey with a balcony fenced in by a railing. Four arched doors, two on the front side and one on each wing, open on the balcony. An umbrella is raised before each door, and the two lateral doors are ornamented with a female statue on either side. The roof is crowned by three pinnacles on the front side. On the right of the building is a detached pillar with a bell-shaped capital bearing the figure of an elephant carrying a garland in its trunk. The shaft of the pillar is prolonged downwards into the middle panel, and at the foot of it there is a stout male figure holding some round object on his head. This person is quite different from the gods represented in the middle relief and certainly has no connection with them, but appears to be a deity of the nether world who acts as the tutelary deity and bearer[1] of the pillar.

On either side of the seat a worshipper is kneeling, a man to the left and a woman to the right. Behind the woman a man stands with folded hands, and to the left of the kneeling man there is a woman holding what seems to be a bunch of flowers in her upraised left hand while with her right she is throwing flowers on the seat. In the upper portion of the relief divine beings are represented worshipping the tree. On either side of it, in the air, is a winged human figure with the hind limbs, the claws and the tail of a bird[2]. One is throwing flowers from a bowl which he carries in his left hand, while the other is offering a garland. Below

[1]Lüders mentions that the figure is represented with a coiled pad of cloth intended as a support (P. *chumbaṭa*) on the head. It seems however more probable that the object which the figure carries on its head is a pot, used for offerings by the visitors to the temple, which is similar to the one borne on the head by some of the Mathurā statues known as 'porteurs de vase', cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris 1930, *Ars Asiatica*, XV, Pl. XLIX and L. In this case the figure does not have anything to do with the pillar in front of which it stands.

[2]I shall not go into the question whether these beings are to be called Gandharvas or Kinnaras. Barua, *Barh.*, III, p. 57, calls them Vidyādharas and remarks: "They must be Vidyādharas, for we read in the J. Nidānakathā (Fausböll, *J.*, I): *Vijjādharā gandhamālādihatthā mahāpurisassa santikaṁ Bodhirukkham agamiṁsu*". Should this be right it would be of importance for the history of the evolution of the conception of the Vidyādhara, which I have treated in *ZDMG*, XCIII, p 89 ff. But the quoted passage seems to be an invention of Barua, at least I am sure that it does not occur in the Nidānakathā.

those Kinnaras, on either side of the tree, two men of much larger size than the rest of the figures stand, and therefore are certainly meant to be gods. They are represented in the conventional attitude of delight, waving their garments with their right hands and touching their lips with their left hands either in astonishment or to sound a whistle.

The building round the Bodhi tree is found once more in a relief on a cross-bar (No. 55) reproduced by Cunningham on Pl. XXXI, 3. It shows three gates which do not appear in our relief, but in other respects it does not differ very much, if it is borne in mind that the roof here is opened, as it were, in order to reveal the tree. Even the pillar with the elephant[1] appears here again[2]. At Sāñchī there is an image of the building resembling even more closely that of the pillar relief on the southern gateway in the scene of Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi tree. In all these cases the building evidently represents the hypaethral temple erected by Aśoka round the Bodhi tree. This temple, it is true, appears instead of the tree with the plain seat also in a relief on the western gateway at Sāñchī, which clearly illustrates the temptation of the Bodhisattva. Here on one side Māra's hosts are retreating, while on the other side the gods are celebrating the victory of the Bodhisattva. But in the Bhārhut reliefs there is absolutely nothing to indicate that the sculptors wanted to represent anything but the sanctuary of the Bodhi tree and its worship by divine and human beings. The visit of the holy sites is recommended in the Mahāparinibbānasutta (*D.* II, 140) as apt to cause religious emotions and a similar effect was apparently expected from looking at their images. The relief is thus an exact counterpart of the two adjoining upper reliefs (Cunningham Pl. XIII, side and inner face) where the *parinirvāṇa* is alluded to by some Stūpa and the *dharmachakrapravartana* by the Dharmaśālā of King Prasenajit at Śrāvastī (see B 38, B 39). This is decisive for the interpretation of the inscription. It is impossible for me to follow Bloch l.c. note 1 who translates it ' the attainment of supreme wisdom by the holy Śākyamuni '. *Bodha* cannot be used here in the sense of enlightenment, but must denote either the Bodhi tree or the building erected around it. It may be pointed out in favour of the latter alternative that the label is engraved on the roof of the building just as the names of the *Sudhammā sabhā* (B 21) and the *Vejayanta* palace (B 22) are written on the roofs of the buildings to which they refer, and secondly that the term used for the tree in Nos. B 14 etc. is *bodhi*, not *bodha*.

Sakyamuni is the designation of the Buddha already in the Pāli Canon[3] and in the Aśoka inscription on the Rummindēi pillar. The *aśvattha* tree has been, as far as I know, everywhere and at all times the acknowledged Bodhi tree of the last Buddha. Bloch's statement that the author of the Nidānakathā and other Pāli writers call the tree a *nigrodha* tree is due to a misunderstanding of *J.* I, 68 f. The *nigrodha* tree under which the Bodhisattva was sitting when Sujātā offered him the milk rice has nothing to do with the Bodhi tree. The Nidānakathā shares the common view regarding the nature of the Bodhi tree as appears from such passages as *J.* I, 15: *assattharukkamūle abhisambujjhissati*; I, 16: *bodhi tassa bhagavato assattho ti pavuchchati.*

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[1]Both Cunningham, p. 121, and Anderson, *Cat.* Vol. I, p. 57, assert that the figure is an elephant. In the plate it is not quite distinct.

[2]I agree with Barua, *Barh.*, II, p. 32 f, that the Bodhi tree is an Aśvattha, not a Śirīsha, as Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 115, assumes. I, however, do not see any reason why the tree here depicted should be that Aśvattha which was planted according to the Pachchupannavatthu of the Kāliṅgabodhij. (479) by Ānanda before the gate of the Jetavana. The elephant pillar by the side of the Bodhi temple in both the reliefs speaks decisively in favour of the fact that the same building is meant in both cases. It is in no way astonishing that the artists followed more or less their fancy and that their representations differed from each other in details.

[3]*D.* II, 274.

B 24 (740); Plates XVIII, XXXVII

On the railing above the middle panel of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the first and second posts from the right. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 29, and Pl. XIII, XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 256 f., No. 12a, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 47, and Pl. ; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 47; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (1892), Pl. III (Pl. only); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 44 ff., No. 142; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 8 f., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXVIII (33); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 52 ff.

Text:

1 purathima(ṁ d)isa[1] Sudhā-
2 vāsā de[v]ā

Translation:

In the eastern quarter the Sudhāvāsa (*Śuddhāvāsa*) gods.

[B 24-26 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

In view of the fact that we find in the following two inscriptions *utaraṁ disa* (B 25) and *dakhinaṁ disa* (B 26), the restored reading *purathimaṁ disa* may be called certain. The use of the accusative is the same as in Gāthā 9 of the Mahāsamayasutta (*D.* II, 258, 4 f.[2]), where *purimaṁ disaṁ, uttaraṁ disaṁ* are found by the side of *dakkiṇena, pachchhimena.* The Suddhāvāsa gods are mentioned already in the *D.* II, 50; 253 f. In the later classification of the gods they are the inhabitants of the five highest Rūpadhātu heavens.

Further remarks on the sculpture are found under No. B 26.

B 25 (741); Plates XVIII, XXXVII

On the railing above the middle panel of the Northern face of the same pillar as No. A 62 now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the second and third posts from left. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 30, and Pl. XIII, XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 256 f., No. 12b, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 48, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 48; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (1892), Pl. III (Pl. only); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 45 ff., No. 144; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 8 f., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXVIII (33); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 53 ff.

Text:

1 utaraṁ disa [t]ini[3] sa-
2 vaganisisā[4]

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[1] The *anusvāra* and the *da* have been destroyed by a deep cut.

[2] *purimaṁ disaṁ Dhataraṭṭho dakkhiṇena Virūḷhako* ı
pachchhimena Virūpakkho Kuvero uttaraṁ disaṁ ıı
chattāro te mahārājā samantā chaturo disā ı
dadallamānā aṭṭhaṁsu vane kāpilavatthave ıı

[3] With the exception of Cunningham who read *tuni*, all editors read *tini*, but as the letter is almost completely destroyed, the *ti* can by no means be called certain.

[4] All editors agree in reading the second *akshara* of the line *ta*, but if the letter is compared with the *ta* in the first line, there can be little doubt that it is *ga*. After *sā* the surface of the stone has been damaged. Hoernle supplied *ṇi*, which cannot be right as, with the exception of the toraṇa inscription, no *ṇa* occurs in the Bhārhut inscriptions. On the other hand, Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha may be right in supplying *ni*, although in that case we have to assume that the supposed *na* was separated from *sā* by an unusually large gap. However, I consider it far more probable that the inscription ended with *sā* and that the apparent traces of letters are mere fissures in the stone. Cunningham also, in his eye-copy as well as in his transcript, gives no letter after *sā*.

TRANSLATION:

In the northern quarter the three (classes of) Savaganisisas (*Sarvagānṛiśaṁsas?*)

[B 24—26 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

I am unable to offer a translation that would satisfy myself. All interpretations of the inscription published hitherto are based on the reading *ta* instead of *ga* in the line 2. Hoernle and Hultzsch transcribe the text *uttaraṁ disa tini savatani sisāni.* Hoernle rendered it: 'to the northern (or upper) side (are) three heads turned towards each other', while Hultzsch's tentative translation runs: 'in the northern direction, [three covered] heads'. Hultzsch understood *savatani* as Sk. *saṁvṛitāni,* Hoernle traced it back to an adjective *saṁvartāni,* unknown elsewhere, but both translations are equally unsatisfactory as no three heads are seen in the sculpture, neither 'turned towards each other' nor 'covered'. Hoernle's attempt to refer the inscription to the relief in the lower panel is of course only a makeshift that need not be discussed. Barua and Sinha divide *savatanisisāni* into *savata-nisisāni* and boldly equating *savatanisisa* with Sk. *sarvatraniśrita* or *sarvātmaniśrita* translate the inscription: 'on the northern side—three classes of all pervading (Rūpabrahmas)', which, apart from other reasons, cannot be accepted as *nisisa* cannot possibly represent *niśrita.* Probably, as remarked already above, the true reading is *utaraṁ disa tini savaganisisā,* and as *tiṁni* is used in the Prakrits with nouns of all three genders and Sk. *abhiśaṁsati, āśaṁsati* becomes *abhisiṁsati, āsiṁsati* in Pāli, we may perhaps translate the inscription into Sk. *uttarasyāṁ diśi trayaḥ sarvagānṛiśaṁsāḥ,*[1] 'in the northern quarter the three (classes of) Sarvagānṛśaṁsas', i.e. of the gods whose kindness extends to all beings. However I am ready to admit that this explanation of the name can by no means be called certain. But although the meaning of the name remains doubtful, we shall see later on that the three Savaganisisas correspond to the gods of the eleven lower Rūpabrahmalokas of the later cosmographical system; see the remarks on No. B 26.

B 26 (742); PLATES XVIII, XXXVII

ON the railing below the middle panel of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the second and third posts from the right. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 31, and Pl. XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 257, No. 13, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol XL (1886), p. 65, No. 49, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 49; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 45 ff., No. 145; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 8 f., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXVIII (33); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), 53 ff.

TEXT:

1 dakhinaṁ disa chha Kā–
2 māvacharasahasāni

TRANSLATION:

In the southern quarter the six thousand Kāmāvacharas.

[B 24–26 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

The inscription, which was strangely misunderstood by Hoernle, was correctly translated by Hultzsch. In the later classification of the gods the Kāmāvacharas are identical with the gods of the six Devalokas as opposed to the twenty Brahmalokas.

[1] *Bhārh.* p. 53 Lüders translates *sarvagānṛśaṃsyāḥ.*

The twenty gods represented in the sculpture are arranged in two rows, one above the other, each row being again divided into two groups of five figures. To make the division quite clear, trees are placed between and at the end of each group. The figures, which according to the labels are representatives of the Suddhāvāsa gods (B 24), the three Savaganisisas (B 25), and the six thousand Kāmāvacharas (B 26), do not differ from each other in their outward appearance, all standing with their hands reverentially joined and carrying their *dupaṭṭas* over their right arms. Greater individuality is exhibited only by the group of the left lower corner, the label of which unfortunately is missing owing to the breaking off of the stone. Here four gods are represented in exactly the same attitude as the gods of the other three groups, but the first figure on the right has wings and the two figures on the left are characterized as Nāgas[1] by their snake-hoods. The winged figure is probably a Suparṇa[2]. The fifth figure is seated on a rock, supporting his cheek with his left hand and scratching the ground with a stick. This is the typical attitude of the mourning Māra, as is shown below (B 77), and I have no doubt that here also the figure is meant for Māra who is mourning, while all other gods celebrate some happy event in the Buddha's career. We do not know the name of the last group, but we may be sure that it was assigned to the Western quarter.

In my opinion the position of the relief below the panel showing the Bodhi tree as well as the attitude of the figures shows clearly that the gods are represented as paying attention, not to the tree, but to the dance of the Apsaras in the lower relief[3]. This is of importance for understanding the distribution of the quarters among the different classes of deities.

The quarters are evidently allotted to the gods according to their rank. In the Buddhist cosmological system the Śuddhāvāsikas are the inhabitants of the five higher Rūpabrahma worlds. As the inhabitants of the still higher Arūpabrahmalokas do not have any corporality at all, the Śuddhāvāsikas are the highest gods that could be depicted. Among the quarters, the East was at all times looked upon as the most prominent quarter, and it is therefore duly assigned to them. According to the system the Kāmāvacharas, on the other hand, are the gods of the six Devalokas standing at the end of the heavens. Therefore we should expect that the Western region is assigned to them. Instead of that the Southern quarter has been reserved for the Kāmāvachara gods. This, however, becomes understandable at once, when we realize that in the relief Nāgas appear in the western region, probably also Suparṇas. These beings can at the best be called demi-gods and stand beneath the real gods; therefore the last region, the *dighaññanāmavhayanā disā* as it is called in *J.* 535, 58, is rightfully attributed to them. Lastly the Savaganisisas, even if their name remains unexplained, can only correspond to the gods of the eleven lower Rūpabrahmalokas of the later system. So they stand beneath the Śuddhāvāsikas, but higher than the Kāmāvacharas, and hence it is quite understandable that the Northern region, which generally enjoys precedence over

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[1] The snake-hoods are indistinct in the Plate, but Anderson, *Cat.* Vol. I, p. 72, expressly states that the two figures are Nāgas.

[2] The Nidānakathā, *J.*I., 75, 2 ff. narrates how the hosts of Nāgas, of Suparṇas, of Devas and of Brahma(gods) (but not Vidyādharas which Barua, *Barh.* III, p. 2 adds out of his own fancy) celebrate the enlightenment of the Bodhisattva at the Bodhi tree. According to the *Mvu.* II, 15, 14 ff. the same beings viz. the Nāgas, Suvarṇas, Devas and Brahmakāyikas worship the mother of the Bodhisattva after the conception. It is indeed quite probable that in the relief these four classes of deities are represented.

[3] Coomaraswamy (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 392 f.) and Waldschmidt (*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* I, p. 70) on the contrary assume some connection between our relief showing the twenty gods with a relief above (see B 23) depicting the building around the Bodhi tree of the holy Sākyamuni. They maintain that the gods represented venerate the Buddha after he reached the enlightenment.

the Southern one, is attributed to them. The distribution of the gods to the regions is accordingly as follows

N
tini Savaganisisā
W | E
[Māra, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas]——————|——————Sudhāvāsā devā
|
chha Kāmāvacharasahasāni
S

Now the statements regarding the regions given in our inscriptions can hardly refer to the habitations of the gods in the cosmos. According to the Buddhist view the heavens of the gods lie above and not at the side of each other. The arrangement of the gods can only have been made in respect of the places which they occupy as spectators of the dance of the Apsaras. In the theatre of the classical Sanskrit period also the seats of the spectators are divided according to the different castes and marked by pillars in different colours (*Bharata* 2, 48 ff.). An amphitheatre, differing from the later theatre, has to be thought of in our case as the spectators stand in all the four different quarters. Already in *ZDMG.* XCV, p. 264 ff., I have shown that this was the oldest form of the auditorium for the spectators to assemble and that it, as long as the representations consisted of mimic dances and not of real dramatic performances, served its purpose completely.

B 27 (743); Plates XVIII, XXXVII

On the railing of the lowest relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the fourth and fifth pillars of the railing from the left. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 29; 134, No. 32, and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 257 f., No. 14, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 50, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 50; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 47 ff., No. 146; Barua, *Barh.* Vol II (1934), p. 9 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXIX (34); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 57 ff. It is referred to by Lévi, *Théatre indien* (1890), Appendice, p. 47.

Text:

1 sāḍikasaṁmadaṁ
2 turaṁ devānaṁ

Translation:

The music of the gods accompanied by (?) a mimic dance.

[B 27–31 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

For the interpretation of the label we must turn to the sculpture[1]. On the left side of the panel there is a group of eight female musicians seated under a tree. Two are clapping

[1] For Barua's explanation of this and the preceding relief one may refer to his book (*Barh.*, Vol. II, p. 8 ff., Vol. III, p. 1 ff.). So much only may be mentioned that in the middle relief (B 26) he at first saw the assembly held by the gods in the Tushita heaven in order to exhort the Bodhisattva to take his rebirth on the earth. The lower relief, representing according to him a 'forecast' of the birth of the Bodhisattva, expresses the great rejoicings of the deities. Later on, when T. N. Ramachandran had told him the right explanation of the figure of Māra he declared that the middle relief was showing the gods having come to congratulate the Buddha on his victory over Māra. Then the lower relief is also brought in connection with the same. According to the *Lalitav.* 321, 7 f. as well as according to the Nidānakathā (*J.* I, 79, 8 ff.) the daughters of Māra in the form of women of different ages try to entice the Buddha. Some approach him as maidens, others as women, who have given birth to children once or twice, others as women even more advanced in age. The female dancers in the relief are said to represent these daughters of Māra in their different stages of age and the dancing boy should perhaps hint at the fact that mothers also are amongst them. A refutation of these views is superfluous.

their hands[1], two are playing on the the seven-stringed vīṇā with a plectrum, two are drummers, one beating a small drum with a stick, while another is beating a larger one with her fingers, and only the instruments played by the two females in the middle of the circle cannot be made out with certainty[2]. The right half of the panel is filled by four female dancers, arranged in two pairs, one before the other. They are called Apsaras in separate labels and special names are given to them. Between the two, named Alambusā and Misakesī, a child is dancing too, and it will be noticed that Alambusā is distinguished from the rest of the dancers by wearing a turban which ordinarily appears only as the head-dress of men. This shows that the performance of the Apsaras is a mimic dance in which Alambusā, evidently the chief actress, plays the part of a man.

As recognised by Hoernle, *turaṁ* is an inaccurate spelling for *tūraṁ*, which according to Hemachandra 2, 63 is the regular Prakrit equivalent of Sk. *tūryam*, and refers to the music of the heavenly orchestra. Hoernle was probably right also in connecting *sāḍikā* with Sk. *saṭṭaka*, the name of one of the Uparūpakas. Instead of *saṭṭaka* the commentator of the Karpūramañjarī constantly writes *sāṭaka*[3], and as we find *nāṭikā* by the side of *nāṭaka*, it is quite possible that by the side of *sāṭaka* there existed a feminine form *sāṭikā*, which in Prakrit became *sāḍikā*. *Sāḍikasaṁmadaṁ* may be inaccurate spelling for *sāḍikāsaṁmadaṁ*, or it may be a compound in which the final vowel of the first member has been shortened as frequently in Prakrit. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (542) it is said that the *saṭṭaka* is similar to the *nāṭikā*, but entirely written in Prakrit and without *praveśakas* and *vishkambhakas*. The acts are called *javanikā* and the rasa prevailing is *adbhuta*. According to another classification of dramatic performances[4] the *saṭṭaka* belongs to the *deśīnāṭyas*, because the music and the dances employed in it are not of the higher or Mārga class, but local varieties used in different parts of the country. According to the *Nāṭakal.* 2156 f. in *saṭṭaka*, because women are predominant, the king himself talks like a woman: *saṭṭake strīpradhānatvād rūpakasyānurodhataḥ* I *nṛipaḥ strīvat paṭhet.* The only *saṭṭaka* that has been made known to us is Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*[5]. Of course, the *sāḍikā* of the relief is not identical with the later *saṭṭaka*, but from what we are told about the language, the music and the dances of the *saṭṭaka* or *sāṭaka* it becomes very probable that it originally was the name of a mimic dance performed by women, which in later times developed into a real drama. *Saṁmada* is taken by all translators as an adjective meaning ' gay, gladdening, joyous ', although the word occurs elsewhere only as a noun. I cannot offer a better explanation. Perhaps, *saṁmada*, originally, as indicated by the *sam–*, ' gladdening together with something else ', was used as a technical term of the Nāṭyaśāstra in the sense of ' accompanied by '.

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[1]The clapping of hands is apparently the *pāṇitāḷasadda* (to be so read with the comm.) which is mentioned in *D.* II, 147, besides *bherisadda, muttiṅgas., vīṇās., gītas., sammas.* A different expression for the clapping of hands seems to be *pāṇisvara*, P. *pāṇissara*, which occurs several times as a musical entertainment (*D.* I, 6; III, 183; *J.* 535, 15; 537, 111; *Mvu.* II, 52, 15). The man clapping the hands is *pāṇisvarika* (*Mvu.* III, 113, 3), *pāṇissara* (*J.* 545, 60). Later on, it seems, one did not know of the exact meaning of the word. Buddhaghosa explains *DA.* 84, *pāṇissaraṁ* by *kaṁsatāḷaṁ pāṇitāḷan ti pi vadanti, DA.* 587 *pāṇitāḷasaddo* by *pāṇitāḷachaturassaammaṇatāḷasaddo* I *kuṭabherisaddo ti pi vadanti.* The *pāṇissare* in *J.* 545, 60 is explained in the commentary by *pāṇippahārena gāyante.* The clapping of the hands accordingly seems to have accompanied singing.

[2]With the one, the instrument is invisible as she turns the back to the spectator. The other is perhaps using cymbals (P. *samma*, Sk. *śamyā*).

[3]Lévi, *Théatre indien*, Appendice, p. 30. *Śāṭaka* is quoted in the *Petersburg Dictionary* with the meaning of *nāṭakabheda* from the Śabdakalpadruma, but the passage cannot be verified.

[4]Lévi, *ibid.*, p. 5 f.

[5]Three more *saṭṭakas* have been published in recent years by A. N. Upadhye; cf. his edition of Viśveśvara's *Siṁgāramaṁjarī*, Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section, No. 13, pp. 33-76 (1960).

I am going to show below in the discussion of No. B 39, pp. 113-118 that the three upper reliefs of the Pasenaji-pillar refer to the *bodhi* (cf. B 23), the *parinirvāṇa* and the *dharmachakra-pravartana* (cf. B 39) by representing their sites and their worship by gods and men. We should expect to find an allusion also to the fourth incident generally associated with them, the *jāti*. As in the upper row there was no room for a fourth panel, any scene referring to the *jāti* had to be placed beneath one of the other three reliefs. Now the dance of the Apsaras represented below the *bodhi* relief is certainly meant to celebrate some happy event in the life of the Buddha, as among all the gods who watch it Māra alone is filled with grief and sorrow. The dance is a mimical performance in which a child takes part and the chief actress appears in the guise of a man. Taking all things together, there can be little doubt, I think, that the play acted by the heavenly ballet is the nativity of the Bodhisattva, in which Śuddhodana and the infant Bodhisattva himself come on the stage[1]. Probably miracle-plays of this sort were customary at Buddhist festivals and therefore ascribed also to the inhabitants of the heavenly worlds. By associating the relief with the festival celebrating the birth of the Bodhisattva, the figure of the mourning Māra mentioned in the remarks on B 26 finds its full explanation. Aśvaghosha also does not forget to mention this fact in his narration of the birth of the Bodhisattva. After having spoken of the music of joy of the gods in the sky, he goes on to say: Kāmadeva alone did not feel joy when the highest amongst the liberated of the world was born[2]. So the relief, as it seems to me, fits in very well with the row of pictures on the pillar.

B 28 (744); Plate XVIII

On the lowest relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the right-hand pillar forming the border of the relief. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 29; 134, No. 33, and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 258, No. 15a, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 51, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 51; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 48 ff., No. 148; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 9 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXIX (34); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 57.

Text:

Misakosi[3] achharā

Translation:

The Apsaras Misakosī (*Miśrakeśī*).

[B 27–31 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

See the remarks on No. B 31.

B 29 (745); Plate XVIII

On the lowest relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian

[1] This explanation of the relief—ingenious as it is—will possibly not convince the general reader. The heavenly ballet may be only celebrating the attainment of the *bodhi* symbolised by the building round the Bodhi tree which is depicted in the upper relief of the pillar (B 23). That the lower reliefs may have some connection with the upper one is indicated by the fact that the shaft of the pillar standing to the right of the building round the Bodhi tree is prolonged downwards into the middle panel, as mentioned on p. 95. Besides, the memorial of the Buddha's preaching in Śrāvastī (B 39), taken by Lüders as referring to the *dharmachakrapravartana* (see p. 117), is not a memorial of the *first* preaching of the law, representations of which are generally associated with those of the *bodhi* and the *parinirvāṇa*. Ed.

[2] *Buddhacharita*, I 27. See Weller's edition of the Tibetan text.

[3] Read *Misakesi*.

Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 29; 134, No. 34, and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 258, No. 15 d; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 52; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 52; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 49 f., No. 150; Barua, *Barh.*, Vol. II (1934), p. 9 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXIX (34); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 57.

TEXT:

Sabhad[ā][1] achharā

TRANSLATION:

The Apsaras Sabhadā (*Saṁbhadrā*).

[B 27–31 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
See the remarks on No. B 31.

B 30 (746); PLATE XVIII

ON the lowest relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 29; 134, No. 35; and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 258, No. 15 c, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 53; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 53; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 49 f., No. 149; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 9 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1 ff. and Pl. XXXIX (34); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 57.

TEXT:

1 Padum[ā]vat[i]
2 achharā

TRANSLATION:

The Apsaras Padumāvatī (*Padmāvatī*)

[B 27–31 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
See the remarks on No. B 31.

B 31 (747); PLATES XVIII, XXXVII

ON the lowest relief of the outer face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 29; 134, No. 36, and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 258, No. 15 b, and Pl. ; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 54; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 54; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 48 ff., No. 147; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 9 ff., and Vol. III (1937), p. 1ff. and Pl. XXXIX (34); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 57.

TEXT:

1 Alaṁ–
2 busā achharā

TRANSLATION:

The Apsaras Alaṁbusā (*Alambushā*).

[1] The first *akshara* is distinctly *sa*, not *su*, as read by Cunningham, Hoernle and Barua-Sinha.

[B 27–31 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

As rightly pointed out by Barua-Sinha, it is not by mere chance that Alambusā and Missakesi B 28 are placed foremost in the sculpture. They seem to have enjoyed greater esteem with the Buddhists than the rest of the heavenly nymphs. Their names are coupled in a list of Apsaras occurring in *Vv.* 2, 1, 10 f.; 4, 12, 26, and they are heading the list of the eight Apsaras residing in the Western quarter in *Mvu.* III, 308, 8; *Lalitav.* 390, 5. Alambusā has gained special renown by the seduction of the great ascetic Isisiṅga, for which, according to the Alambusajātaka (523), she was selected by Sakka from amongst her numerous companions. Alambushā and Miśrakeśī are frequently mentioned also in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

Padmāvatī occurs as the name of one of the eight Apsaras assigned to the Northern quarter in *Mvu.* III, 309, 8 and *Lalitav.* 391, 3. The name is not found in Pāli texts nor is an Apsaras of that name known in the Brahmanical literature. Barua-Sinha are inclined to identify her with Puṇḍarīkā who appears in the Epics and the Purāṇas and is mentioned also in the list of the *Vv.*, but the *Lalitav.* clearly differentiates the two, naming Puṇḍarīkā among the Apsaras of the Western quarter.

The name of the fourth Apsaras which clearly is *Sabhadā* in the label, has hitherto been read or corrected to *Subhadā*. Barua-Sinha have identified the name with *Subhaddā*, which occurs as the name of an Apsaras in the passage of the *Vv.* quoted above. The printed text, it is true, has *Subhaddā*, but all manuscripts, both Siṁhalese and Burmese, read *Sambhaddā* or *Saṁbhaddā* (S² once *Saṁsaddā*), which exactly agrees with the form of the name in the label, the *anusvāra* being frequently omitted in the inscriptions of this time. An Apsaras of the name of *Subhadrā* has never existed.

B 31a; Plate XXXIX

On a pillar, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2914), inscribed above the inscription No. B 49a. Edited by Kala, *BhV.* (1951), pp. 31 f., Pl. 26; Sircar, *EI.*, Vol.XXXIII (1959/60), p. 59.

Text:

Muchilido nāgarāja

Translation:

Muchilida (*Muchiliṃda*[1]), the king of the Nāgas.

The wording of the label is similar to the text of the inscriptions No. B 6 (*Chakavāko nāgarājā*) and No. B 36 (*Erapato nāgarajā*). It refers to the picture of a five-headed snake surrounding and sheltering a stone-seat standing underneath a tree. The Buddha is symbolized as sitting upon the seat by two footprints cut into the footstool, each of them ornamented by a wheel. The sculpture depicts a well-known event taking place in Urubilvā (Pāli Uruvelā) under the Bodhi-tree, in one of the first weeks after the Enlightenment of the Buddha[2]. When there was a great storm and shower of rain, the king of the Nāgas protected the Buddha by winding his coils seven times round the Buddha's body and spreading his hooded canopy over the Buddha's head. The episode is very often represented in Buddhist sculpture, from Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Amarāvatī etc. onwards up to modern times.

[1] Pāli *Muchalinda* (Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli-Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 638 f.); *Muchilinda* is common in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, see Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* s.v.

[2] A comparative edition of the Sanskrit text is to be found in E. Waldschmidt, *Das Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, Teil II, Berlin 1957, pp. 96-101.

B 32 (731); Plates XIX, XXXVIII

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 14). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115 f.; Childers, *Academy* Vol. VI (1874), p. 586; 612, with a further note by Childers-de Zoysa, *Academy* Vol. VII (1875), p. 454 f.; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 84; 133, No. 20, and Pl. XXVIII, LIII and LVII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*; Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 38, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 38. A correction was made by Bloch, *JBAS.* Vol. LXVII, Part I (1898), p. 285, and the inscription was edited again by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.*, No. I (1919), p. 20, No. 16, and Pl. V; and by Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 59 ff., No. 161; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 27 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLV (45); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 168 ff.

Text:

Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭisaṁthatena ketā[1]

Translation:

Anādhapeḍika (*Anāthapiṇḍika*) presents the Jetavana, having bought it for a layer of crores.

[B 32–34 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

The story of Anāthapiṇḍika's presentation of the Jetavana to the Saṁgha occurs in the *Chullav.* 6, 4, 9 ff.; 6, 9, 1 f., and in the Nidānakathā of the *J.* Vol. I, p. 92 f.

In the Chullavagga we are told that prince Jeta reluctantly sold his park to Anāthapiṇḍika for a layer of crores. Anāthapiṇḍika had the money brought out in carts and ordered the ground to be covered with pieces laid side by side. Only a small spot close by the gateway remained uncovered, and here Jeta himself erected a *koṭṭhaka*, while Anāthapiṇḍika built *vihāras* and all sorts of buildings required for the residence of the monks. Later on, when he had entertained the Buddha and his retinue at his own house, he asked the Buddha what he should do with regard to the Jetavana, and was advised by the Buddha to dedicate it ' to the Saṁgha of the four quarters, whether now present or hereafter to arrive '. Anāthapiṇḍika did so, and the Buddha praised the gift of *vihāras* in some Gāthās.

The account in the Nidānakathā is more explicit, although prince Jeta is here ignored altogether. Anāthapiṇḍika is simply said to have purchased the Jetavana for a layer of eighteen crores and to have erected a large number of buildings, among which the Gandhakuṭī for the Dasabala is expressly mentioned. After the completion of the buildings Anāthapiṇḍika arranges a sumptuous inaugural ceremony. Together with 500 *seṭṭhis* and accompanied by his son, his two daughters and his wife, each followed by a retinue of 500 persons, he receives the Buddha who has come for that purpose from Rājagaha. The account of the conversation between Anāthapiṇḍika and the Buddha, the transfer of the *ārāma* to the Saṁgha and the praise of the Buddha is almost literally the same as in the Chullavagga, but it is added that the merchant poured water from a golden *bhiṁkāra* on the hand of the Buddha.

The representation of the sculpture is more in keeping with the later version. In the right half of the medallion Anāthapiṇḍika is standing by the side of a bullock cart with the yoke tilted up in the air and two bullocks unyoked lying beside it. A labourer is engaged in unloading coins from the cart, while another is carrying a load of coins on his back to the spot where they are to be spread. Two other seated labourers are covering the ground

[1] The reading is distinctly *ketā*, not *keto* as assumed by Barua-Sinha.

with the coins which by their square form and the symbols they bear are shown to be punch-marked *kahāpaṇas*. In the centre Anāthapiṇḍika is seen again, pouring out the water of donation from a *bhiṁkāra* on the hand of the unseen Buddha. On the opposite side six well-dressed male persons stand, the foremost among them with his hands reverentially joined, while another is waving his garment and a third one expresses his approval in the typical fashion by whistling. They are probably the *seṭṭhis* whom Anāthapiṇḍika has invited to take part in the inauguration festival. The most conspicuous person may be prince Jeta, although he is not mentioned in the Nidānakathā, but it is not quite impossible that he is meant again for Anāthapiṇḍika and that the scene represents the reception of the Buddha by the merchant at the head of his followers.

Besides, the medallion shows two buildings on the left side, which according to separate labels (B 33, B 34) are the Kosaṁbakuṭi and the Gandhakuṭi. In the left lower part at the side of the Kosambakuṭi a mango tree loaded with fruit is to be seen. The block at the foot of the tree can scarcely represent anything but a stone seat, and the railing depicted in front of it is certainly meant as a fence for the tree[1]. It seems to me scarcely probable that this mango tree which has got such a prominent place in the sculpture is only representing the mango trees which were spared when, according to a modern version of the legend, the trees in the park were cut down[2]. I should rather believe that Cunningham[3] was right when he identified it with the Gaṇḍamba tree in the legend of the great miracle of Śrāvastī, which the Buddha by his supernatural power made grow up from the kernel of a mango fruit before the eyes of a large crowd at Śrāvastī. This indeed does not exactly agree with the statement of the text according to which the miracle took place in 'front of the gate of Śrāvastī[4]' or 'between the Jetavana and Śrāvastī'[5]. Now we are told by Hüan-tsang that 60 or 70 feet to the east of the Saṅghārāma founded at the site of the old Jetavana there was a Vihāra nearly 60 feet high containing a seated Buddha Statue. Here the Tathāgata once had a discussion with the Tīrthikas[6]. This Vihāra, built at the place of the discussion, is already mentioned by Fa-hien. Giving particulars, he says that it lay outside the Eastern gate of the Jetavana, at a distance of 70 feet in the Northern direction and to the Western side of the street[7]. I fully agree with the opinion of Foucher[8] that the Vihāra marked the place of the victory of the Buddha over the Tīrthikas on the occasion of the great miracle. Accordingly at least in the 4th century the miracle was already localized in the immediate vicinity of the Jetavana. A stotra on the eight great chaityas, translated by Fa-t'ien in about 1000 A.D., expressly called the Jetavana the locality of the Mahāprātihārya[9]. All this makes it, I think, very probable that the artist added the mango tree when representing the Jetavana. The anachronism of which he made himself guilty while doing so may have scarcely disturbed him. The wish to show the famous tree in his picture must have overcome the possible scruples regarding the historical truth. Below, in the treatment of the inscription B 39, I am going to explain that in the rest the Bhārhut relief, when depicting the miracle of

[1] I cannot understand how Barua, *Barh.* II, p. 30, is able to explain it as a basement of a new edifice.

[2] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 218, states that the trees in the park, with the exception of the sandal and the mango trees, were cut down. In the older texts nothing is said of it. In the Jetavana relief on the railing of Buddha-Gayā four different trees are depicted in order to hint at the garden, but in any case no mango tree is to be seen. See Bachhofer, *Frühindische Plastik*, Pl. 42.

[3] *StBh.* p. 87.

[4] cf. Sarabhamiga-jātaka (No. 483), *J.* IV, 264.

[5] *Divy.* p. 155.

[6] Beal, II, p. 10.

[7] Legge, p. 59 f.

[8] *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 183 f.

[9] S. Lévi, *Actes du dixième Congrès international des orientalistes*, P. II, p. 190.

Śrāvastī, represents an older version of the legend than the one found in the Pāli commentaries. On the other hand exactly here the close connection with the tradition of the Theras is evident if the version in the text of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is held against it.

The wording of the label closely agrees with the text of the Pāli scriptures: *atha kho Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati sakaṭehi hiraññaṁ nibbāhāpetvā Jetavanaṁ koṭisantharaṁ santharāpesī* (*Chullav.*); *Jetavanaṁ koṭisanthārena aṭṭhārasahiraññakoṭīhi kiṇitvā navakammaṁ paṭṭhāpesi; imaṁ Jetavanavihāraṁ āgatānāgatassa chātuddisassa Buddhapamukhassa saṁghassa dammīti adāsi* (*Nidānak.*). Anādhapeḍiko, which is defective writing for Anādhapeṁḍiko, is the form of the name in the eastern language of the Canon. The form *ketā* was correctly explained by Bloch as gerund going back to **krayitvā*=Sk. *krītvā*, P. *kiṇitvā*.

B 33 (732); Plates XIX, XXXVIII

On the rim of the medallion on the same pillar as No. B 32, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 14). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 116; *StBh.* (1879), p. 85; 133, No. 21, and Pl. XXVIII, LIII, and LVII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 39, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 39. Hultzsch's translation was corrected by Bloch, *JBAS.* Vol. LXVII, Part I (1898), p. 286, and the inscription was edited again by Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 59 f., No. 163; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 27 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLV (45).

Text:

Kosabak[u]ṭi[1]

Translation:

The cottage of the Kosabas (*Kauśāmbas*).

[B 32–34 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
As to the meaning of the term see the remarks on No. B 34.

B 34 (733); Plates XIX, XXXVIII

On the rim of the medallion on the same pillar as No. B 32, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 14). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 116; *StBh.* (1879), p. 85; 133, No. 22, and Pl. XXVIII, LIII, and LVII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 65, No. 40, and Pl. ; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 40; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 59, No. 162; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 27 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLV (45).

Text:

gadhakuṭi[2]

Translation:

The perfume cottage.

[B 32–34 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

[1] Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha read *Kosa[ṁ]ba–*, but there is no *anusvāra*. Cunningham's eye-copy also shows no *anusvāra*.

[2] Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha read *ga[ṁ]dha–*, but there is no *anusvāra*. In Cunningham's eye-copy no *anusvāra* is visible either.

The sculpture definitely proves that *gandhakuṭi* and *Kosambakuṭi* were not rooms or apartments, but one-storied buildings of moderate size. The *gandhakuṭi* seems to have been the larger structure. It has an oblong roof with two pinnacles, while the roof of the Kosambakuṭi is round and bears but one pinnacle. In all other respects the two buildings are much alike. The open arched gate affords the view of a seat decorated with floral designs.

Neither of the *kuṭis* seems to be mentioned in the earlier Buddhist literature. It is only in the later texts that the terms turn up. In the Nidānakathā it is said that Anāthapiṇḍika had it erected in the midst of the Jetavana. In the commentary on *Sn.* 456 *agiho* applied to the Buddha is explained as meaning ' without longing ' (*ageho*), since ' houseless ' would not suit, the Buddha having various dwelling-houses in the Jetavana such as the Mahāgandhakuṭi, the Karerimaṇḍalamāḷa, the Kosambakuṭi, the Chandanamāḷa etc. The *gandhakuṭi* at the Jetavana is mentioned also in *J.* II, 416 in the story of the wicked *pabbājikā Sundarī* who tells the people that she goes to the Buddha: *ahaṁ hi tena ekagandhakuṭiyaṁ vasāmi*, ' for I live with him in the same gandhakuṭi '. In *Divy.* 46, 5 ff. it is stated that the earth quaked when the Buddha entered the *gandhakuṭi* at the Jetavana. *Gandhakuṭī̆*, however, is not the special name of the building at the Jetavana, but a generic term for the private residence of a Buddha in a *vihāra*. The *gandhakuṭi* in the Jivīkambavana at Rājagaha is mentioned in *J.* I, 117, 14; 119, 8. 10. 22. The Buddhas of the past ages had their *gandhakuṭis* just as Śākyamuni. In the *Dh.A.* IV, 203 ff. there is a story of a householder building a magnificent *gandhakuṭi* for the Buddha Vipassi. The *gandhakuṭi* of the Buddha Kāśyapa in the Ṛishipatana at Benares is mentioned in *Avś.* II, 40. In *Divy.* 333, 4 f. a *gandhakuṭī* is assigned to each of the last seven Buddhas. In the *Mvp.* 279,1 *gandhakuṭī* is the first in a list of monastic buildings. From such terms as *surabhigandhavāsitaṁ gandhakuṭiṁ* (*J.* I, 119, 10), *surabhigandhakuṭi* (*J.* I, 119, 22; 330, 27) it appears that it owed its name to the scent of perfumes which filled it[1].

Kosambakuṭi, on the other hand, seems to be a proper name. Barua-Sinha's derivation of *Kosamba* from *Kausumbha* is linguistically impossible and unsuited as to meaning, *kusumbha*, safflower, as far as I know, having never been used as a perfume. *Kosambakuṭi* can represent only Sk. *Kauśāmbakuṭi*, and the cottage probably owed its name to the fact that it was built by some natives from *Kauśāmbī*. In two Mathurā inscriptions (Museum Nos. 121 and 2740) it is stated that some persons set up a Bodhisattva image in their own *chaityakuṭi*. Similarly the *Kosambakuṭi* would seem to be the *kuṭi* of the *Kosambas*. As pointed out by Barua-Sinha, Buddhaghosa says *SA.* (Vol. I, p. 308) that the *Kosambakuṭikā* was on the border of the Jetavana (*Jetavanassa pachchante*). This statement is in conflict with the passage quoted above from the commentary of the *Sn.*, and seems to be contradicted also by epigraphical evidence. The inscription No. 918 in my *List*, dated in the reign of Kanishka, records that the monk Bala set up a Bodhisattva, an umbrella and a post at Śrāvastī on the walk of the Holy one at the Kosambakuṭi (*Śāvastiye bhagavato chaṁkame Kosaṁbakuṭiye*). It is true, the Jetavana is not mentioned in the inscription, but as the *chaṁkama* of the Buddha may reasonably be assumed to have been within its confines[2], the same site may be inferred for

[1] The term seems to have the meaning ' sanctuary ' in some inscriptions, e.g. in the Kaṇheri Buddhist cave inscription No. 6 (*List* No. 989); Bühler (*ASWI.*, V, p. 77) states that by the term *mahāgandhakuṭī*, to be found in the text, " as the position of the inscription shows, the great Chaitya is meant ". Similarly the expression *śailagandhakuṭī* for a sanctuary is used in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla, saṁvat 1083, *IA.* Vol. XIV (1885), p. 140.

[2] In the Chullav. and in the Nidānakathā *chaṁkamas* or *chaṁkamanas* are mentioned among the structures erected by Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jetavana.

the Kosambakuṭi. Unfortunately the sculpture does not settle the question. As shown in the treatment of B 33 the Gaṇḍamba tree is also represented, though it was not in the Jetavana but only in its vicinity. At any rate the *Kosambakuṭi* appears to have been in existence from the middle of the first century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D.

B 35 (805); Plates XIX, XL

On a pillar, formerly at Batanmāra, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 88; 138, No. 92, and Pl. XXVIII and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 71, No. 99, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 235, No. 99; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 61, No. 164; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 55 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LIV (56); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 164.

Text:

Idasālaguha

Translation:

The Idasāla (*Indraśāla*) cave.

The story to which the sculpture refers is the Sakkapañhasuttanta, No. 21 of the *D.* (II, 263 ff.)[1]. When the Buddha has retired for meditation to the Indasāla cave on Mount Vediyaka in the vicinity of Rājagaha[2], Sakka feels a desire to pay him a visit together with the Tāvatiṁsa gods, but fearing that he might not meet with a good reception, he sends the Gandharva Pañchasikha in advance to put the Buddha in a favourable mood. Pañchasikha takes his *vīṇā* and sings before the Buddha a love-song embellished with complimentary allusions to the Buddha. When Sakka sees that the Buddha is pleased with the song, he asks Pañchasikha to announce his arrival to the Buddha. With the permission of the Buddha, Sakka and the other gods enter the cave, and in the ensuing conversation between the Buddha and Sakka the Buddha answers several questions addressed to him by the god.

The medallion has been injured by cutting away both sides when the pillar was set up as an architrave in one of the cenotaphs at Batanmāra, but the middle portion and the inscription are in a good state of preservation. The sculpture represents the cave, in the centre of which a seat decorated with floral designs and surmounted by an umbrella indicates the presence of the Buddha. Nine gods are seated cross-legged around it, the one facing the seat being probably meant to be Sakka. On the left, outside the cave, Pañchasikha stands playing the *vīṇā*; unfortunately the right half of the figure has been cut off. Above the cave, rocks on which two monkeys are seated, a tree, and holes from which the heads of some animals are coming out represent the mountain on which the Indasālaguhā was situated.

The name of the cave is the same as in the Pāli texts and Indasālaguhā was also the form of the name in the Dīrghāgama of the Dharmaguptas, while in the texts of the other schools Indraśailaguhā is the current form[3]. As remarked by Barua-Sinha (p. 125), Indasālaguhā is an *upanidhāpaññatti*, 'a name derived from an object standing at close proximity', because

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[1] Cf. E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon*, Leipzig, 1932, S. 58-113 (Das Śakrapraśna-sūtra).

[2] On the localisation of the cave according to Buddhaghosa and in respect to the description of the Chinese pilgrims see Barua-Sinha pp. 125-127; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd ed. London 1927, p. 79; Bimala Churn Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932, p. 42; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 313 (further references).

[3] Waldschmidt l.c., p. 61, note.

the Indasāla tree, as mentioned by Buddhaghosa (*DA*. Vol. III, p. 697), marked the entrance of the cave. In the commentary on *J*. 455, 1 *sallakī*, the incense-tree (*Boswellia thurifera*), is explained by *indasālarukkha*, and it is not impossible that the tree represented above the cave in the medallion is meant to be an incense-tree.

B 36 (752); Plates XIX, XXXIX

On the railing below the middle panel of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the fourth post from the right. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh*. (1879), p. 134, No. 41, and Pl. XIV, XV, and LIV; Hoernle, *IA*. Vol. X (1881), p. 258 f., No. 16b, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*. Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 59, and Pl.; *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 59; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 71 f., No. 179; Barua, *Barh*. Vol. II (1934), p. 64 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXI (69); Lüders, *Bhārh*. (1941), p. 165 ff.

Text:

Erapato [nā]garajā

Translation:

The Nāga king Erapata (*Erapattra*).

[B 36 and 37 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
See the remarks on No. B 37.

B 37 (753); Plates XIX, XXXIX

On the middle relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB*. 1874, p. 115, with notes by Childers, *Academy*, Vol VI (1874), p. 586; Beal, ibid. p. 612; Fergusson, ibid. p. 637; Childers-de Zoysa, ibid. Vol. VII (1875), p. 351. Edited again by Cunningham, *StBh*. (1879), p. 11; 27; 135, No. 42, and Pl. XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA*. Vol. X (1881), p. 258, No. 16a, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*. Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 60 and Pl.; *IA* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 60; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI*. No. I (1919), p. 20, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 71 f., No. 180; Barua, *Barh*., Vol. II (1934), p. 64 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXI (69); Lüders, *Bhārh*. (1941), p. 165 ff.

Text:

1 Erapato nāgarājā
2 bhagavato vadate

Translation:

The Nāga king Erapata (*Erapattra*) worships the Holy One.

[B 36 and 37 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

After comparing the different versions of the legend of the Nāga king as found in the *DhA*. (III, 230 ff.), in the *Mvu*. (III, 384, 1 ff.), in the Dulva[1], in the Fo-pên-hing-tsi-king[2] and in other Chinese sources[3], one has to concur with Waldschmidt[4] that the Bhārhut relief

[1] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 46 f.
[2] Beal, *Rom. Leg*., p. 276 ff.
[3] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 242 f.
[4] *Buddh. Kunst in Indien*, I, p. 76.

agrees best with the Pāli version. According to it the Nāga has met with his existence by his bad conduct in a previous birth. At the time of the Buddha Kassapa, when he was a young monk, he broke a leaf of an *eraka* tree by inadvertence, and failing to confess his offence, he has been reborn in the Gaṅgā as a huge serpent king called Erakapatta. He is anxiously awaiting the appearance of the next Buddha, and to ascertain when this happy event will take place, he teaches his daughter a Gāthā containing questions which nobody but a Buddha can answer. Every fortnight he makes her dance on his hood and sing that Gāthā, and as he has promised both his daughter and his wealth to the man who will be able to answer the questions, many men try to win the maiden during the long interval between the two Buddhas, but in vain. When the Buddha, sitting under one of seven Śirīsha trees not far from Benares, beholds the young Brahmin Uttara, who has made up his mind to compete for the prize, he teaches him the right answers. The Nāga king realizes that a new Buddha has arisen in the world. Filled with joy, he lashes the waters with his tail so that the banks of the river are washed away. He is then conducted by Uttara to the Buddha who comforts him by a sermon.

The relief shows three different stages of the story. In the upper part Erapatta emerges from the Gaṅgā as a five-headed snake. His daughter stands on his hood, and on her left side the young Brahman Uttara rises from the water. Her gesture indicates that she is talking to him, and he is offering her a lotus-flower. In the right corner below, separated from the river by a strip of land, there is another sheet of water which is probably meant to represent the inundation caused by the Nāga. Here Erapatta is seen on his way to the Buddha. This time he is in human form, but carrying a five-headed snake over his head-dress. He is followed by two females who are characterized as Nāga girls by a single headed snake on their heads. The left side of the relief is filled by the last scene where Erapatta, again in human form, is kneeling before the invisible Buddha sitting on a stone seat beneath a tree which may be a Śirīsha tree[1]. Five more trees are figured on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the water-sheet. They probably represent the rest of the trees mentioned in the text, although their numbers do not exactly agree.

All persons and events mentioned in the Pāli text, which in the other versions partly do not occur at all, are represented in the relief, for instance, the young Brahmin Uttara, the daughter standing on the head of the Nāga, the Śirīsha trees and probably even the inundation caused by the Nāga. The material deviations are very small. Instead of the seven Śirīsha trees only six are depicted and nothing is said in the Pāli texts[2] of the two Nāga girls accompanying the Nāga king on his way to the Buddha. The only real difference lies in the name of the Nāga, *Erapata* in the label of the relief, *Erakapatta* in the commentary. But this too is of no importance. I fully agree with Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 207 ff., when he explains the different forms of the name of the Nāga king as resulting from the sense-suggesting distortions of *Airāvata*. Airāvata occurs as an epithet of the Sarpa Dhṛitarāshṭra already in the *AV.* 8, 10, 29 and in the Pañchaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 25, 15, 3. The Nāga Airāvata is also often mentioned in the epic[3]. An old secondary form of the name is *Airāvaṇa* which appears in Pāli as *Erāvana* or *Erāvaṇa*. In the Mahāsamayasutta (*D.* II, 258) the Mahanāga Erāvaṇa[4] is mentioned in the list of Nāgas. In the Dhammikasutta of the *Sn.* the upāsaka

[1] The characteristic features of the Śirīsha tree are better brought out in the medallion described under No. B 15.

[2] I cannot understand how Barua, *Barh.* II, p. 68, is able to assert that the representation agrees in the latter point with the narration of the *Mvu.* There (384, 1 f.) it is only said, exactly as in the *DhA.*, that Elapatra offers his daughter and a rich treasure as reward for the solution of the question.

[3] *Mbh.* 1, 3, 139 ff.; 174; 31, 5; 14, 58, 25; 43. *Hariv.* 1, 3, 112; 6, 27.

[4] Text: *Erāvano*, but *DA.* 688 *Erāvaṇo*.

Dhammika praises the Buddha on account of his wisdom which has been acknowledged also by the demi-gods and such divine beings as Erāvaṇa and Kuvera (V. 379):

āgachchhi te santike nāgarājā
Erāvaṇo nāma jino ti sutvā ।
so pi tayā mantayitvājjhagamā
sādhū ti sutvāna patītarūpo ॥

The author of the *SnA.* totally misunderstood the stanza. He takes the nāgarāja Erāvaṇa as Indra's elephant of which he gives a fanciful description. The reading of the stanza leaves no doubt that the Nāga king of the legend is meant by Erāvaṇa: " The Nāga king Erāvaṇa came to thee when he heard that a Jina has come into existence[1]. He also came in order to have consultation[2] with thee and when he had heard (thee) he was pleased, (saying) ' well ' ". *Airāvaṇa* occurs somewhat often in Buddhist Sanskrit texts: *Mvp.* 168, 45; *Mahām.* p. 247; in the serpent charm (*Bower MS.* p. 224; *Mahām.* p. 221):

maitrī me Dhṛitarāshṭreshu maitrī Airāvaṇeshu[3] *cha* ।
Virūpāksheshu me maitrī Kṛishṇa-Gautamakeshu cha ॥

In Pāli the stanza runs (*A.* II, 72; *Chullav.* 5, 6; *J.* 203, 1):

Virūpakkhehi me mettaṁ mettaṁ Erāpathehi me ।
Chhabyāputtehi me mettaṁ[4] *kaṇhā-Gotamakehi cha* ॥

It is scarcely to be doubted that *Erāpatha* here is only the corresponding form of *Elāvata* or perhaps *Elāvana* of the eastern language.

But the matter does not rest only with this transformation of *Elāvata.* Later, the unintelligible name, was changed into **Elāpatta* ' leaf of cardamom ', and **Elapatta* with the shortening of the final syllable of the first member of the compound. Both the forms have then been sanskritized: the name reads *Elāpatra* in the Brahmanical[5], *Elapatra* in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts[6]. To explain the name, a story has then been invented by the Buddhists. The Nāga is said to have been a monk in the former birth who committed the sin of plucking away leaves from cardamom plants (*elā*) standing in his way[7]. **Elapatta* has then been taken over into the western language as *Erapatta* with change of *l* to *r*. *Erapatto* has probably to be read in the label of the relief where *Erapato* is written. If the *DhA.* writes *Erakapatta* instead of it, this is simply an attempt to elucidate the name. As the word *era* does not exist, so *eraka* was substituted in its place, which designates a form of reed, in any case a plant growing near water. (When the Vṛishṇyandhakas in Prabhāsa on the seashore get into a quarrel they strike each other with *erakās*, changed into clubs; *Mbh.* 16, 3, 36 ff.) Accordingly the name is thus interpreted in a new story: The Nāga in a former birth, as a young monk sailing on a boat on the Gaṅgā, grasped a bush of Erakās growing on the bank and did not let it loose even when the boat went on, so that a leaf was plucked (*daharabhikkhu hutvā gaṅgāya nāvaṁ abhiruyha gachchhanto ekasmiṁ erakagumbe erakapattaṁ*[8]

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[1] or '(that thou art) the Jina '.

[2] The meaning is 'in order to take advice from you'. *Mantayitvājjhagamā* is either text-corruption for *mantayitv ajjhagamā* or a mistake of the Pāli-translator who took the *mantayitu* of the original in the eastern language as a gerund.

[3] In the *Bower MS. nairāvaṇeshu* which is a simple mistake of the writer; cf. Hoernle, *ibid.*, p. 231 f.

[4] *Chullav.* and *J.* insert here one more *mettaṁ.*

[5] *Mbh.* 1, 31, 6; *Hariv.* 1, 3, 113; 3, 46, 39. Vogel has shown that in later times one was not conscious of the identity of Elāpattra and Airāvata and that they were taken as two different Nāgas.

[6] *Mvp.* 167, 44; *Divy.* 61. 4 (so in the manuscripts; in the text we find *Elāpatra*); *Mvu.* III, 383, 19; 384, 1 ff.; *Mahām.* p. 222; 247.

[7] Si-yu-ki (Beal) I, p. 137; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels* I, 242.

[8] *Erakagumba* and *erakapatta* show the normal shortening of the final syllable of the first member in a compound.

gahetvā nāvāya vegasā gachchhamānāya pi na muñchi erakapattaṁ chhijitvā gataṁ). As he did not confess his crime he is reborn as a Nāga king Erakapatta. It is therefore evident that even in the name of the Nāga there exists no difference between the label and the Pāli text. *Erakapatta* is nothing else but the younger form coming out of *Erapatta*.

B 38 (750); Plates XIX, XXXIX

On the uppermost relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on the roof of a building. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 11; 90; 110; 134, No. 39, and Pl. XIII and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 255, No. 10a, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 57, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 57; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 57 f., No. 159; p. 64, No. 169.

Text:

bhagavato dhamachakaṁ

Translation:

The Wheel of the Doctrine of the Holy One.

[B 38 and 39 refer to one and the same sculpture.]
See the remarks on No. B 39.

B 39 (751); Plates XIX, XXXIX

On the uppermost relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 90; 111; 134, No. 40, and Pl. XIII and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 255, No. 10b, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 58, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 58; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 64, No. 168; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 46 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. L (52); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 62 ff.

Text:

1 rājā Pasenaji
2 Kosalo

Translation:

King Pasenaji (*Prasenajit*), the Kosala (*Kauśala*).

[B 38 and 39 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

The relief bearing this and the preceding inscription shows a two-storeyed edifice resembling the building round the Bodhi tree described above No. B 23. In the centre of the lower storey there is a large wheel with a parasol over it and a garland hanging over its nave. It is flanked on each side by a well-dressed man in devotional attitude. Below, at the right-hand corner, there emerges from the gateway of a palace a chariot of which only the heads of the two horses and of the driver are visible. On the left appears a chariot drawn by four richly caparisoned horses. A king has taken his place in it together with his charioteer, who is holding the reins, and two attendants, one carrying a parasol and the other waving a *chaurī*. In front of the chariot two men, apparently running, and before them two horsemen

are seen from behind. The sculptor evidently wanted to represent the *pradakshiṇā* of the edifice, and he has therefore continued the royal procession on the right, where two men mounted on elephants are moving in the opposite direction.

As the royal personage in the procession is called King Prasenajit of Kosala in the label, Foucher[1] was of the opinion that the sculpture refers to the great miracle of Śrāvastī. But his view can hardly be upheld. As shown below in detail, the typical representation of the miracle is quite different in the Buddhist art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī. Moreover, there is nothing in the sculpture to indicate that subject.

The legend of the great miracle of Śrāvastī is narrated in the Pachchuppannavatthu of the Sarabhamigajātaka (483; IV, 263, 7 ff.), in the *DhA.* (III, 199 ff.), in the Prātihāryasūtra of the *Divy.* (p. 143 ff.), and in Aśvaghosha's *Buddhach.* (20, 54 f.)[2]. Foucher followed the history of the representation in art in an instructive treatment[3] which needs some additions only as far as the sculptures of Bhārhut and Sāñchī are concerned.

In the Pāli literature, the miracle, as Foucher remarks, is often called the double miracle under the Gaṇḍamba tree[4]. So the miraculous creation of the mango tree forms here an introduction to the narration of the *yamakapāṭihāriya*. In the Jātaka the Buddha has the announcement made, that after seven days he would perform a miracle which would destroy the Tīrthikas under the Gaṇḍamba tree before the gate of Sāvatthī. The Tīrthikas and the vast crowd of men come to Sāvatthī to be witnesses of the miracle. King Pasenadi offers to erect a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) for the great spectacle but the Buddha refuses, adding that god Sakka will construct a pavilion of jewels twelve yojanas long for the purpose. To prove the Buddha a liar, the Tīrthikas cause all the mango trees in the vicinity of Sāvatthī to be cut down. In the morning of the great day, Gaṇḍa, the gardener of the king, gives a mango fruit of unusually big size to the Buddha. The master eats it and orders the gardener to plant the kernel into the earth. Instantly a vast mango tree beset with flowers and ripe fruit shoots up. In the evening Sakka makes Vissakamma build a pavilion of jewels. The gods from their ten thousand chakkavālas come together. Then suddenly it is said in a very short manner: *satthā titthiyamaddanaṁ asādhāraṇaṁ sāvakehi yamakapāṭihāriyaṁ katvā bahuno janassa pasannabhāvaṁ ñatvā oruyha Buddhāsane nisinno dhammaṁ desesi* । *vīsatipāṇakoṭiyo amatapānaṁ piviṁsu*, " When the master had made the *yamakapāṭihāriya*, which destroys the Tīrthikas and which cannot be carried out by pupils, and when he knew that many people were disposed to believe in him, he descended, sat down on the seat of the Buddha and preached the Dharma. Two hundred millions of beings drank the drink of immortality ". At the first sight it might appear that the author could have understood the miraculous creation of the mango tree and the erection of the pavilion out of jewels as the 'double miracle'. The remark, however, that the Buddha " descended " after having performed the miracle shows that the Buddha did the *yamakapāṭihāriya*, when standing in the air, and the same is clearly seen from the *DhA.* where the narration is much more extensive and contains many details which can be omitted here. The basic elements of the story are the same as in the Jātaka. Regarding the locality in Sāvatthī, where the miracle takes

[1] *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 178 ff.

[2] *AO.* XV, p. 98.

[3] *JA.* S. X, T. XIII, p. 43 ff.; *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 147 ff.

[4] *J.*I., 77, 24; 88, 20; *Mhv.* 17, 44; 31, 99; 30, 82 (*ambamūle pāṭihīraṁ*); Samantapāsādikā I, p. 88 f. *Gaṇḍamba* has later on been understood as the mango tree of the gardener Gaṇḍa; originally, however, *gaṇḍamba* seems to have been the expression for an unusually great mango fruit. In *J.* V., 99, 4; 108, 6 f. also a *gaṇḍatinduka*-tree is mentioned. A similar expression is *gaṇḍaśaila* which means, according to Amara and other lexicographers, great blocks of rock fallen down from a mountain (*chyutāḥ sthūlopalā gireḥ.*)

place, nothing more specific is said. The offer of Pasenadi, to erect a pavilion for the Buddha is also found here as well as the refusal of the offer by the Buddha with a reference to the expected help of Sakka, but we do not hear anything further about the building of the pavilion. On the other hand it is narrated that the Tīrthikas build a pavilion for themselves and that Sakka destroys it before the miracle takes place. The miracle[1] consists in the Buddha's creating a *ratanachaṅkama* in the air and while walking up and down on it he sends forth flames of fire and streams of water from the different parts of his body. He also makes his double appear before him with whom he exchanges question and answer. Two hundred million living beings are converted by the instruction which he gives in the meantime.

The Prātihāryasūtra of the *Divy.* is swollen to a great extent by lengthy repetitions and inserted episodes. I here restrict myself to hint at several points which, as it appears to me, are of importance for the evolution of the legend. The offer of Prasenajit to erect a pavilion for the miracle (*prātihāryamaṇḍapa*) is here accepted by the Buddha. The pavilion is erected between the town of Śrāvastī and the Jetavana. At the same place the adherents of the six Tīrthikas build a pavilion for every one of them.

The miracle of the mango has here totally disappeared from the narrative, not, however, the person of the gardener Gaṇḍaka, whose former history on the contrary is told at great length. His real name is Kāla and he is the brother of Prasenajit. His hands and feet were cut off by the king's command on account of an alleged offence in the harem, but by the order of the Buddha his body was restored by Ānanda with the help of *satyakriyā*, and he had become a follower of the Buddha since that time. Now he has attained the *anāgāmiphala* and is in possession of supernatural powers. On account of that he is able to fetch a Karṇikāra tree from the Uttarakaurava-dvīpa which he plants in front of the pavilion of the Buddha, whereas another gardener (*ārāmika*), named Ratnaka or Rambhaka, who apparently enjoys similar powers, plants an Aśoka tree from the Gandhamādana behind the pavilion.

After a number of smaller miracles the Buddha, asked by Prasenajit, first performs the wonder of fire and water, afterwards, being asked a second time by the king in the presence of all gods, he shows a miracle by multiplying his appearance which extends in a chain up to the highest of the Rūpabrahma worlds. Pañchika, the general of the Yakshas, destroys the pavilion of the Tīrthikas by a storm. At the end, the Buddha creates another representation of a Buddha with whom he holds conversation and preaches the Dharma so that many hundreds of thousands attain the different stages of holiness.

In the *Buddhach.* the miracle is treated very shortly in two stanzas. It is only said that the Buddha, when he dwells in Śrāvastī, accepts the demand of the Tīrthikas to show his miraculous strength and defeats them by his manifold magic powers. Probably Aśvaghosha restricted himself here, because he had already narrated the performance of the miracles in details before in the story of Buddha's stay in Kapilavastu (19, 12-15). Here the wonder of fire and water, as well as that of multiplication is mentioned but mixed with all sorts of other miracles: the Buddha touches the carriage of the sun with his hand, goes on the path of the wind, dives into the earth as if it were water, walks on the surface of the water as on land and goes through a rock.

The comparison shows that the Pāli-version of the legend, even if it was fixed later, is on the whole undoubtedly the older one regarding the contents. The wonderful creation of the Gaṇḍamba tree must have once formed the beginning of the story. The appearance

[1] The description has been taken *pālito* i.e. from Paṭisambhidāmagga I, 125 f.

of the gardener Gaṇḍaka and the totally unmotivated planting of the Karṇikāra and of the Aśoka tree by the two gardeners in the *Divy.* are only understandable as reminiscences of the original miracle of the mango tree. On the contrary the erection of the pavilion for the Buddha by Prasenajit as described in the *Divy.*, is apparently older than the building of the pavilion of jewels by Viśvakarman, which latter is not even rightly narrated in the *DhA.* In the original version nothing could have been said of a pavilion. The miracle of the mango tree, which has the only purpose to create the tree under which the Buddha intends to perform the *yamakaprātihārya,* becomes indeed quite superfluous by the erection of the pavilion. Consequently the mango tree does not play any role in the Pāli tales of the performance of the miracle.

The original legend therefore runs as follows. The Buddha announces that he would perform a miracle under the Gaṇḍamba tree in Śrāvastī in order to triumph over the Tīrthikas. The Tīrthikas therefore cause all the mango trees in the vicinity of Śrāvastī to be cut down. The Buddha, however, orders the kernel of a mango to be planted in the earth, out of which a big mango tree immediately grows up. He takes his seat under this mango tree and from there he raises himself up in the air to perform the *yamakaprātihārya.* It seems, the *yamakaprātihārya,* " the double miracle " was originally understood only as the sending forth of fire and water. This wonder stands at the top of all the wonders in all the sources with the exception of the *Buddhach.* The multiplication of the appearance seems to be a later addition. The collections of Foucher (p. 155 f.) show that the miracle of the fire and water was gradually also added to other legends and even transferred to persons other than the Buddha[1]. On account of that it was bound to lose its reputation, and so it is understandable that one felt the need to intensify the wonder of Śrāvastī to make it a really " great " *prātihārya.* Apparently the doubling of the appearance was first added as it is told in the Paṭisambhidāmagga and in the *DhA.* The designation *yamakaprātihārya* also suited this doubling, even if understood in a somewhat different sense than what the expression originally conveyed. Gradually one went still further: out of the doubling of the figure, its multiplication up to a Buddhapiṇḍī developed, of which the *Divy.* tells. In this text a trace of the older doubling also has been retained when at the end we suddenly hear of the creation of the double with whom the Buddha converses. Lastly, as Foucher (p. 158) remarks, the wonder of fire and water has been completely displaced by the wonder of duplicating. According to the description in the Aśokāvadāna[2] the miracle of Śrāvastī consists only of the creation of the row of Buddhas, reaching up to the heaven of the Akanishṭha gods.

This reconstruction of the original legend, gained purely from literary sources, is also in conformity with the sculptures in Bhārhut and Sāñchī. On the front side of the left pillar of the northern gate in Sāñchī a relief is found which is described by Sir John Marshall[3] as follows: " In centre, a mango tree with the throne of the Buddha in front. Round the Buddha is a circle of his followers bringing garlands to the tree or in attitudes of adoration ". Sir John Marshall then hints at the great miracle of Śrāvastī as the probable subject of the relief. He remarks, however, that it contains no definite indication of the miracle. I do not believe that this circumstance goes against the explanation of the relief. As the Buddha is not being represented, the doubling or the multiplication of his person, even though the legend should have contained it, could not have been represented in the picture. But the depicting of the miracle of fire and water was also bound to cause difficulties under the

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[1] Cf. E. Waldschmidt, *Wundertätige Mönche in der ostturkistanischen Hīnayāna-Kunst*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge VI, pp. 3-9.

[2] *Divy.* 401; Przyluski, *Légende d' Aśoka*, p. 265.

[3] *Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 58.

given circumstances, and its avoidance would be quite understandable.

Marshall's identification is justified by a relief in Bhārhut which has already been taken note of by Waldschmidt[1]. On the corner pillar of the angular entrance at the Western gate, three reliefs, one below the other, are carved at the right side. Due to the conformity in style and equality of execution, they must have been made by the same artist and stand in some internal connection (cf. Cunningham's Pl. XVII). The middle relief shows the wellknown ladder in Sāṅkāśya. The upper relief depicts the gathering of gods listening to a sermon of Buddha whose presence is hinted at by a tree and a throne. The two reliefs therefore refer to Buddha's preaching of law in the Trayastriṁśa heaven and his descent from there. The lower relief shows the same subject as the relief in Sāñchī mentioned above: a mango tree with a stone seat in front of it. It is worshipped by a number of standing persons—altogether twenty—or is being saluted in the wellknown fashion by waving of clothes and touching of mouth. Undoubtedly the miracle of Śrāvastī is meant, which immediately preceded the ascent of the Buddha into the heaven of the Trayastriṁśa gods. Thus the miracle of the mango alone is represented here also; nothing is to be seen of the miracle of fire and water[2].

Thus we observe that the typical representation of the miracle of Śrāvastī in the art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī is quite different from what we see in our relief. There is nothing in the sculpture to indicate that subject. In my opinion the panel has to be interpreted in connection with the two adjoining panels of the pillar. Apparently the sculptor intended to allude to the three great events in the life of the Buddha, the *sambodhi*, the *parinirvāṇa* and the *dharmachakrapravartana*, by representing the buildings erected on the sites where they had taken place and their worship by divine and human beings. Just as the Bodhi temple is meant to remind of the enlightenment of the Buddha and the Stūpa of his death, the Dharmaśālā[3] is a memorial to his preaching[4]. Like the Bodhi temple and the Stūpa with the lion-pillar

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[1] *Buddh. Kunst in Indien*, p. 78.

[2] A parallel is given by the story of the visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu which is connected with the *yamakaprātihārya*. In the reliefs in Sāñchī depicting the visit (Northern gate, right pillar, front side, 3rd panel; Eastern gate, right pillar, inner side, 2nd panel) only a *chaṅkama* is represented in the air on which one has to imagine the Buddha walking. The *chaṅkama* is made through magic by the Buddha for himself, according to *DhA*. (III, 163), in order to break the insolence of his relatives. In the *Mvu*. (III, 114,7 ff.) it is told more precisely that the Buddha creates the place for walking in the air so that he may not be required to stand up before the Śākyas coming to visit him. In the Nidānakathā (*J*. I, 88, 17 ff.) the *chaṅkama* is not expressly mentioned. Here we are told that the Buddha in order to force his relatives to worship him against their will raised himself into the air and performed a *pāṭihāriya* similar to the *yamakapāṭihāriya* under the Gaṇḍamba tree. In the *Mvu*. the Buddha standing in the air performs the *yamakaprātihāryāṇi*. Two of them are narrated in particular, viz. the wonder of the fire and water and, provided the text has been rightly handed down, the creation of the figure of a bull sometimes in this, sometimes in the other region. It is remarkable that here also the wonder of fire and water is mentioned in the first place. Further on the legend, that blind Mahāprajāpatī regains her eyesight by the water streaming out on the occasion of the miracle, is combined with the foregoing. The different miracles attributed to the Buddha on this occasion in the *Buddhach*. are already mentioned above (p. 115). One gains the impression that the legend originally mentioned only a place of walking, created by magic in the air by the Buddha, in order to raise himself above the Śākyas. The *yamakaprātihārya* seems to have been added to it from the legend having its origin in Śrāvastī. The sculptures at Sāñchī in any case suit with this interpretation, even though they cannot be looked upon as proofs. The *yamakaprātihārya*, even when it may have been a part of the legend at the time of the production of our reliefs, could not be shown on account of the fact that any personal representation of the Buddha was avoided in sculptures.

[3] Cunningham, *StBh*. p. 90 f., 119, wanted to connect the edifice with the *dhārmaśālā* or, as he calls it, the *puṇyaśālā* of Prasenajit. Barua, *Barh*. II, p. 48, takes the relief to be an illustration of the Dhammachetiya-Sutta (*M*. II, 118 ff.) which, according to my opinion, is unfounded. In any case, the opinion of Barua that the two figures at the side of the wheel represent the king twice, once to the left as worshipping, and once to the right as retreating, is erroneous.

[4] Cf. note 1 on p. 102.

the Dharmaśālā is to be taken as a historical building, which, as Hüan-tsang tells us[1], was erected by king Prasenajit for the Buddha in the city of Śrāvastī. To leave no doubt about the identity of the building the sculptor added the *pradakshiṇā* procession of the king,[2] which at the same time illustrates the worship of the place by men, while the two large figures inside the building are gods revering the wheel like the two gods revering the tree in the corresponding relief of the Bodhi.

B 40 (774); Plates XIX, XXXIX

On the left outer face of the same pillar as No. A 59, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 3). The inscription is engraved on the lowest relief. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112; *StBh.* (1879), p. 90; 136, No. 63, and Pl. XVI and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 27, No. 22; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 77, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 77; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 63 f., No. 167; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 42 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XLIX (51); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 164.

Text:

A[jā]tasat[u][3] bhagavato vaṁdate

Translation:

Ajātasatu (*Ajātaśatru*) worships the Holy One.

The story represented in the sculpture is related in the Sāmaññaphalasutta (*D.*I., 47 ff.). In a beautiful moonlit night King Ajātasattu of Magadha, on the advice of the physician Jīvaka, makes up his mind to pay a visit to the Buddha. He orders Jīvaka to get his state-elephant ready, together with five-hundred she-elephants for his women and sets forth in royal pomp from the city of Rājagaha to Jīvaka's Mango Grove, where the Buddha is staying. Arriving at the entrance of the grove, the king dismounts and walks on foot to the door of the hall in which the lamps are burning. Buddha, who is sitting there amidst the monks, is pointed out to the king by Jīvaka. The king bows to the Holy One and, having taken his seat aside, asks him about the advantage to be derived from the life of a recluse. When the Buddha has answered his questions, the king takes the vow of a lay-disciple and confesses the great sin of his life, the murder of his father.

The sculpture conforms to the story in every detail. In the lower part the king is seen sitting on his state-elephant with a female attendant bearing the parasol behind him. To his right there are two more elephants mounted by two women. They have much smaller tusks than the elephant of the king, apparently to show that they are she-elephants

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[1] Beal, Vol. II, p. 2.

[2] The particulars have been explained by Foucher in the description of his Pl. XXVIII. He mentions that of the carriage coming forth from the gate in the right lower side of the picture, nothing more is to be seen than the heads of both the horses and of the charioteer. This has to be rectified. The feet of the horses are quite clearly to be seen in the photograph of the lower relief. The artist has gone beyond here as well as in the Bodha-relief (B 23) of the same pillar, the rail forming the frame for his representation. It is impossible that this two-horsed carriage is identical with the four-horsed carriage of the king. The artist apparently added a second carriage to the carriage of the king and introduced two pedestrians, two riders on horse-back, and two elephants in order to indicate the procession. I am not quite sure, whether the door is meant to be the gate of the royal palace or of the town. It could also mean the entrance gate to the district of the sanctuary.

[3] The *u*-sign is indicated only by a very slight elongation of the right bar of the *ta*. Hultzsch read *Ajātasata*.

as stated in the text. In the right corner another elephant with large tusks is kneeling, the female-mahout sitting far back near the tail. This is the elephant of Jīvaka, who has dismounted and is talking to the king as indicated by his raised right hand. Two trees laden with mangoes show that the scene is Jīvaka's Mango Grove. The seat of the Buddha is in the upper right corner below a parasol with pendants hanging down from it. The presence of the Buddha is symbolized by his foot-prints on the foot-rest. The king is kneeling before the seat, while Jīvaka and four women are standing behind him with their hands reverentially folded. A burning swing-lamp indicates that the visit takes place at night.

4. B 41 - 62 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO IDENTIFIED SCENES FROM JĀTAKAS[1] AND AVADĀNAS

B 41 (700); Plates XIX, XL

On a coping-stone, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2925). Formerly only a drawing and a photograph of a fragment published by Cunningham were available. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 69; 131, No. 11, and Pl. XXVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 158; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 81, No. 192; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 90, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXI (91); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 133; Kala, *BhV.* (1951), pp. 28 f., Pl. 35; Sircar *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), No. 6, pp. 59 f.

Text:

haṁsajātakaṁ[2]

Translation:

The Jātaka of the mallard.

The Jātaka was identified by Cunningham with the Nachchajātaka, No. 32 of the Pāli collection, which contains the well-known story of the Golden Mallard, the king of the birds, who allows his daughter to choose a husband after her own heart from amongst his subjects. Her choice falls on the peacock, who overjoyed begins to dance and in doing so exposes himself. Shocked at this indelicacy, the king of birds refuses him his daughter. The sculpture is fragmentary. The lower half and portions of both sides are broken off, but enough remains to show that it represented a mallard and to the right of it a peacock with outspread tail. If the fragment, a photograph of which has been published together with the drawing, formed part of the sculpture, some more mallards are represented in the lower left corner showing their back to the exposed peacock.

B 42 (695)[3]; Plates XIX, XLI

On a coping-stone (No. II), now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 77 f.; 130, No. 6, and Pl. XLVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 7 and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 7; Jātaka translated...under...Cowell, Vol. III (1897), Pl. only; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 88, No. 207; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 125 f.; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 134.

Text:

biḍalajatara[4] kukuṭajātaka

Translation:

The Jātaka of the cat (also called) jātaka of the cock.

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[1] A label containing the word *jātaka* appears also in the fragmentary inscription B 80.

[2] Cunningham's eye-copy has *haṁsajātaka.* The editors would prefer to translate *haṁsa* by 'wild gander.'

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription (B 42) has been lost.

[4] *ra* may be a clerical error for *ka.*

To the left of the relief there is a tree, on a branch of which a cock is sitting high above the ground. To the right, underneath the tree, a cat of a comparatively big size squats. She looks up to the cock on the tree and is obviously talking to him. The relief has already been identified by Subhūti with the Kukkuṭajātaka (*J.* 383) of the Pāli collection, giving the fable of the cat which used to catch the cocks by different stratagems in order to devour them. Now the Bodhisattva is born as a cock and the cat realizes that it will be difficult to get hold of that especially intelligent bird. The cat therefore decides to offer herself as his wife. She approaches the cock when he sits on a tree, flatters him, and tries to persuade him to take her as his wife. The cock, however, suspects some treachery, refuses her proposal, and keeps himself away from danger. Just the event of the conversation between the cock and the cat is represented in our relief.

Biḍala corresponds to sk. *biḍāla* (cf. *Pāṇini*, 6. 2.72), whereas Pāli texts use *biḷāra* or *bilāḷa.*[1]

The relief bears two labels according to the main characters in the story, whereas for the Pāli Jātaka, as mentioned above, only the title *kukkuṭajātaka* is used.

B 42a; PLATE XLI

ON a coping stone, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (Ac/2910). Edited by Kala, *BhV.* (1951) pp. 32 f., Pl. 7; Sircar, *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), p. 60, No. 7; an illustration of the coping stone is also given by Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India through the Ages*, (1954), Pl. 15.

TEXT:

gajājātaka[2] saso jātake[3]

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka of the elephant. The hare in the Jātaka (?).

The wording and distribution of this inscription is very peculiar. The first part is inscribed at the top of a panel showing two people of rank standing in a court-yard formed by three cottages. One of the cottages is placed in the longitudinal direction right in front of the spectator, the two others on either side of the first. Dr. Kala gives the following detailed description of the panel. "In the space between these cottages are two richly attired persons engaged in conversation. The figure on the left side holds an animal (hare) in his right hand while the left one is raised above the breast. The right side figure hears the discourse of the other with rapt attention. One more animal is noticeable in the scene ....The front cottage is thatched with grass and reeds and has a gabled roof. The walls of the house appear to have been made of wood. There is a sliding door and a star shaped window on each of its sides. The two side cottages have vaulted roofs supported by wooden beams. The cottage in the right has three finials. A disc ornament is also carved near these."

The second part of the label (viz. *jātake*) is engraved at the top of a different panel,

[1] See Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1953, § 35.

[2] *gajā°* is probably a mistake for *gaja°*.

[3] The reading of Dr. Kala is *jātaka*. The stroke of the *-e* is, however, quite clearly written. *jātake* can only be a loc. sg., or has to be regarded as a mistake for *jātakaṁ*.

further to the right, of which the left part only has been preserved. The relievo depicts a domed hut of the type used by hermits. Behind the dome of the hut the tops of two trees are visible. Judged by some remnants to the right of the hut, it looks as if the hermit had been sitting on a mat before the door of the hut.

Dr. Kala informs us that Barua was of the opinion that the label on the left is completed by the word *jātake* on the right, and that the inscription should be read as *gajajātaka sasajātaka*, to be understood like *biḍalajataka kukuṭajātaka* of B 42, giving two names for the same story. This interpretation raises some difficulties: the Śaśajātaka—the tale of the hare jumping into the burning fire in order to offer his roasted flesh to a hermit—is well known and represented several times in early Indian sculpture[1]. Dr. Kala himself was able to publish the up to now oldest illustration of the Jātaka, found on the fragment of a Bhārhut pillar, recently recovered and at present in the Allahabad Museum[2]. According to the part of the scenery left in our relievo, it is not impossible, that the panel to the right (labelled *jātake*) is again illustrating the Śaśajātaka. In this case the word *saso* would belong to the panel to the right, whereas the relief to the left ought to be a picture of the jātaka of the elephant. An elephant, however, is not to be seen in the relievo, and the animal in the hand of one of the two men in conversation with each other looks similar to the hare in the representation of the Śaśajātaka on the fragment of the pillar published by Dr. Kala. This fact is in favour of looking at the word *saso* as part of the label of the left panel. As yet we do not see a possibility to solve the problem. The propositions made by Dr. Barua and Dr. Sircar to connect the illustration with Jātaka 345 (*gajakumbhajātaka*)[3] or Jātaka 322 (*daddabhajātaka*) are by no means convincing. There is nothing in the stories which would suit the picture.

B 43 (724); Plates XIX, XL

On a pillar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 52; 133, No. 13, and Pl. XXV and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 32; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 230, No. 32; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 85, No. 199; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 112 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXIX (107); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941) p. 133. The sculpture is reproduced in the English translation of the Jātaka by Cowell and others, Vol. II.

Text:

nāgajātaka

Translation:

The Jātaka of the elephant.

With the help of Subhūti, the sculpture to which the label belongs was identified by Cunningham with the Kakkaṭajātaka, No. 267 of the Pāli collection. In that Jātaka the Bodhisattva is a big elephant living with his mate in the Himālaya near a lake infected by

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[1] For illustrations of the Jātaka in Central-Asian painting see A. von Le Coq (und E. Waldschmidt), *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-58.

[2] *BhV.* pp. 25 f.

[3] Referring to Barua's article in *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 48, Dr. Baij Nath Puri of Lucknow University says that the sculpture can only relate to the Gajakumbhajātaka "which describes the previous birth of the Buddha as a minister of the King of Benaras who took a tortoise and a hare giving to the slothful king an object lesson of how the indolent came to misery. The tortoise is symbolised by his laziness and the hare by his activity, though the popular version is just the reverse." [*India in the Time of Patañjali*, Bombay 1957, p. 233]. Unfortunately the hare does not occur in the Pāli text.

a huge crab which used to catch and kill the elephants sporting in the water. When the crab has seized the Bodhisattva's feet with its claws, the Bodhisattva is unable to pull the monster out of the water. He feels that the crab is drawing him down and roars for help. While the other elephants run off, his mate turns towards the crab and coaxes it with flattering words so that it loosens its grasp. Then the elephant tramples it to death.

In the medallion the elephant is represented stepping out of the water, while the crab clings to his right hind-foot. Two elephants, one of whom may be intended as the mate of the Bodhisattva, are visible in the background. In the water some aquatic bird is swallowing a fish, while four more fish are swimming about.

As the elephant is the hero of the story, Nāgajātaka seems to be a more appropriate title of the Jātaka than Kakkaṭajātaka.

B 44 (825); Plates XX, XL

On a rail-bar of the South-Eastern quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (C.B. 59). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112 f.; *StBh.* (1879), p. 58 f.; 139, No. 11, and Pl. XXVI and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 72, No. 109, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 236, No. 109; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 88, No. 206; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 123 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXII (117); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 133.

Text:

laṭuvājātaka[1]

Translation:

The quail Jātaka.

The subject of the medallion was identified by Cunningham with the Laṭukikajātaka, No. 357 of the Pāli collection,[2] where the Bodhisattva appears as the leader of a large herd of elephants. A quail, that has her nest with her unfledged brood on the feeding-ground of the elephants, implores him not to trample on the young birds. The Bodhisattva and his herd cautiously pass by without injuring the birds, but a solitary rogue elephant who comes after them crushes the nest in spite of the entreaties of the quail. The quail alights on a tree and threatens to take her revenge which she accomplishes with the help of a crow, a blue fly, and a frog. The crow pecks out the eyes of the elephant, the fly drops its eggs into the empty sockets, and when the elephant, blind and maddened by pain, is seeking for water to drink, the frog deludes him by his croaking to a precipice. He tumbles down and is killed. In the medallion the different stages of the story are represented: the elephant trampling down the nest with the young birds; the quail on the tree; the crow pecking out the eyes of the elephant; the fly laying its eggs in the wounds; and, at the top, the frog and the elephant falling headlong down the rocks. The elephant on the right, who is followed by a smaller elephant, seems to be meant for the Bodhisattva and his herd.

B 45 (704); Plates XX, XL

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 108). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 76; 131, No. 15, and

[1] The *ka* which is distinct in Cunningham's and Hultzsch's reproductions is nearly effaced in the impression before me.

[2] A similar story is found in the *Pañchatantra* (ed. Kielhorn), I, 15.

Pl. XLVI and LIII; Hoernle, *IA*. Vol. X (1881), p. 119, No. 4; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*. Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 15, and Pl; *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 15; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 83 f., No. 196; Barua, *Bharh*. Vol. II (1934), p. 100 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXVI (99); Lüders, *Bhārh*. (1941), p. 151 f., 174.

TEXT:

sechhajataka

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka of the student.

The sculpture to which the label belongs was identified by Rhys Davids with the Dūbhiyamakkaṭajātaka, No. 174 of the Pāli Jātaka book; see *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I, p. CII. In the Jātaka the Bodhisattva is a brahmin in a village of Kāsī. One day, wandering along a road, he comes to a place where a trough is put up which people use to fill with water from a deep well in the neighbourhood for the use of animals. The brahmin draws water for himself, drinks it and washes his hands and feet, when a monkey approaches him begging for water. The brahmin fills the empty trough and gives the monkey to drink and then lies down under a tree to take rest. When the monkey has quenched his thirst, he pulls a monkey-grimace to frighten his benefactor, and when the Bodhisattva upbraids him, he soils him. The sculpture undoubtedly represents the Jātaka, but it differs from it in details. On the left side stands a young man wearing plain dress and his hair cropped with the exception of a knot over the forehead. He is pouring out water into the hands of a monkey from a vessel, while a similar vessel, apparently wrapped round with cords, stands in front of him. On the right the same man is represented carrying a pole (*vihaṅgikā*) with two water-vessels under a tree on which a monkey is seated, maliciously looking down on the man. In the outermost right corner is another tree.

The sculpture clearly represents two stages of the story, on the left the gift of water to the monkey, on the right the mocking of the monkey. It is of little consequence that in the relief there is no well from which the man has drawn the water and that he is not lying under the tree, when the monkey makes faces at him. The version of the story followed by the sculptor apparently related that the man was fetching water, when he met the thirsty monkey on the road, and that, after having given him something to drink, he was derided by the monkey, when he continued his way. On the other hand, it is of importance for the interpretation of the inscription that, judging from his dress, the man represented in the sculpture cannot be meant to be a *brahmin*. Nor does he look like an ascetic. He has the appearance of a *brahmachārin* who, according to Manu (2, 219; 193; 182) and other law-books, may wear his hair clipped with the exception of a lock, has always to keep his right arm uncovered, and whose duty it is to fetch pots full of water daily for his *guru*. In the label he is called *sechha*.[1] Barua-Sinha's derivation of the word from *siñchati* in the sense of water-drawing is absolutely impossible, and Hoernle was certainly right in taking it as equivalent to Pāli *sekha*, *sechha* being the true western form for the *sekha* of the eastern dialect. In the language of the Buddhist scriptures *sekha* has assumed a special meaning. It denotes a monk as long as he has not acquired arhatship, but it cannot have been used in this sense in the inscription, as the person represented in the sculpture is not a Buddhist monk. In Sanskrit *śaiksha* occurs only in the Kośas. It is said there to mean a tyro who has just begun his studies

[1] In the Sāñchī inscription (*List* No. 570) the corresponding word for 'student' occurs in the form *sejha*.

(*prāthamakalpika*), which perfectly agrees with the result arrived at from an examination of the sculpture. It should be noted that the difference between the sculpture and the Jātaka extends, not to the Gāthās, but only to the prose narrative which in many cases has been proved to deviate from the original tale.

B 46 (703); Plates, XX, XLII

On a coping stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 102). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879) p. 75; 131, No. 14, and Pl. XLVI and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 14, and Pl.; Warren, *Two Bas-Reliefs of the Stupa of Bharhut* (1890), p. 14 ff.; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 14; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 89, No. 208; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 127 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXIII (121); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 153.

Text:

udajātaka[1]

Translation:

The Jātaka of the otters.

The sculpture to which the label belongs was first identified by Hultzsch with the Dabbhapupphajātaka, No. 400 of the Pāli Jātaka book. It is the humorous story of two otters who, having caught a large *rohita* fish by united effort, begin to quarrel about the division of their prey. They ask a jackal to make an equal division of the fish. The jackal awards the tail to one of the otters, the head to the other and takes the middle portion for himself as arbiter's fee and brings it to his wife who has manifested a longing for fresh fish. The Bodhisattva is said to have been a tree-spirit at that time who witnessed the event.

The sculpture shows two otters and a jackal between them on the rocky bank of a river in which two fish are visible. The tail and the head of a fish are lying on the ground before the otters. On the right the jackal is seen trotting off with the middle portion of the fish in his mouth. On the left before two trees an ascetic is seated with a water-vessel and a basket filled up to the top before him. It appears that the sculptor did not know the version of the story as it is given in the prose account of the Pāli Jātaka and that in the version known to him the part played by the tree-spirit was assigned to an ascetic living by the river bank. Probably in the mouth of this ascetic the last Gāthā containing the moral was originally put.[2]

B 47 (730); Plates XIII, XLI

On the same pillar as No. A 98, and immediately below that inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 14). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 51 f.; 133, No. 19, and Pl. XXV and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 64, No. 37 (second part), and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 226; 230, No. 37 (second part); Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 91, No. 212; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 136 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXV (126); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 133.

[1] The *ā*-sign of *jā* is quite distinct.

[2] The author of the prose apparently forgot the purpose of the presence of the tree-spirit and calls the last stanza an *Abhisambuddhagāthā*. In the Tibetan version of the story (Schiefner, *Tib. Tales,* p. 332 ff.) which is very much deteriorated, the witness of the event has totally disappeared.

TEXT:

migajātakaṁ[1]

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka of the deer.

The sculpture to which the label belongs has been identified by Hultzsch[2] with the Rurujātaka, No. 482 of the Pāli collection. The story belongs to the class of tales of the virtuous animals and the ungrateful men. A young spendthrift casts himself into the Ganges to drown himself, but is saved by the Bodhisattva, who at that time was a gold-coloured *ruru* deer. He carries him on his back out of the water and sets him after some days on the road to Benares, asking him at the same time not to disclose his haunt. The queen of Benares has dreamt of a golden deer and longs to see it. After being informed by the brahmins that there are really golden deer, the king offers a large reward to anybody who will bring him news of such a creature. Instigated by his greediness, the wretched young fellow shows the king and his followers the way to the dwelling place of the deer. The king is ready to discharge an arrow, when the deer addresses him and reveals the perfidy of the traitor. At the request of the deer the king pardons the wretch and grants a boon of inviolability to all creatures.

In the medallion three stages of the story are represented. In the lower part the deer is seen swimming in the stream with the man on his back. A doe drinking from the water serves no other purpose but to fill a blank space. In the centre of the upper part, where three trees indicate that the scene is in a forest, the large deer is quietly lying on the ground, while four female deer are running away in fear of the king who has pulled his bow and is on the point of shooting his arrow at the deer which is pointed out to him by the traitor standing by his side. In front of the deer the king appears once more, attended by two men, probably the treacherous young man and a servant. The attitude of the king, who stands with his hands folded in devotion, shows that here he is represented as conversing with the deer and paying his respects to him for his magnanimous behaviour.

In agreement with the Gāthās, where the deer is called a *ruru* deer, the title of the Pāli Jātaka is Rurujātaka, while in the label it is called *migajātaka*. I do not know which species of the deer family was denoted by *ruru*[3]; the animal represented in the sculpture is certainly neither an antelope nor a gazelle, but, as shown by the antlers, a stag, probably a sāmbar.

B 48 (698); PLATES XX, XLVII

ON coping-stone No. IV, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 75; 131, No. 9, and Pl. XLIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 118, Note 2; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 10, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 10; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 80, No. 190; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 85 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXX (88); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 134.

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[1] The sign for the *anusvāra* has not come out on the estampage, but it can be clearly seen in the photograph.

[2] Again by Huber, *BEFEO.* Tome IV (1904), p. 1093.

[3] In *Vaij.* 66, 27 it is said to be a large black buck (*mahān kṛishṇasārah*), but no such animal exists in India.

TEXT:

isimigo jataka

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka of the *ṛiśya*-antelope.

The sculpture illustrates the Nigrodhamigajātaka, No. 12 of the Pāli collection, one of the most famous birth stories and frequently told or alluded to[1] in Buddhist literature. In the Pāli commentary it is located near Benares. In the *Mvu.*, where the story is related at great length (I, 359 ff.) the scene is the well-known Isipatana Migadāya or Ṛishipatana Mṛigadāva, and Hüan-tsang in his description of Benares tells us that there was a stūpa in the park to commemorate the event. The Chinese pilgrim's account enabled Cunningham to identify the Jātaka[2], but he misunderstood the details of the sculpture and misinterpreted the inscription. The legend as told in Pāli consists of two parts. In the first part we are told that the Bodhisattva was born as the leader of a large herd of antelopes by the name of Nigrodha, while an equally large herd belonged to another antelope king called Sākha. The king of Benares was passionately fond of hunting, and to stop the excessive slaughter of the deer, the two leaders agreed with the king to send one animal every day, alternately from one and the other herd, to the execution block to be killed by the cook. One day, the story goes on, the lot falls on a pregnant doe of Sākha's herd. In vain she implores her leader to pass her over until she has brought forth her child, but when she turns for help to the Bodhisattva, the great Being at once goes himself to the place of execution. The cook is highly astonished to see the king of the deer. He informs the king, who is deeply affected by the magnanimity of the Bodhisattva and at his request grants immunity not only to the deer, but to all living creatures. Cunningham thought that the relief represented the interview between the king and the Bodhisattva, which leads to the agreement about the daily offering of one antelope, but the man standing before the antelope carries an axe on his left shoulder and therefore can be only the cook who has come to kill the antelope. The animal itself is standing with its forefeet placed on what seems to be a log of wood wrapped round with cords, which is perhaps meant for the block of execution, the *gaṇḍikā* or *dhammagaṇḍikā* spoken of in the Pāli text. As indicated by a tree behind the antelope the scene is not the kitchen of the royal palace, but some place in the deer park. The antelope is called *isimigo* in the inscription. Cunningham took the name as an abbreviation of *Isipatanamigo*[3] and translated it by Ṛishi-deer. His explanation, although accepted by Hultzsch and Barua-Sinha, appears to me extremely improbable, and I am convinced that *isimiga* goes back to *ṛiśyamṛga*. In Pāli, it is true, *ṛiśya* has become *issa* as proved by *issammiga* (*J.* V, 416), *issāmiga* (*J.* V, 431), *issasiṅga* (*J.* V, 425), and therefore *isimiga* may be considered as belonging to another dialect; but in Pāli we have also *Isisiṅga*, the name of the hero of the Alambusaj. (No. 523) and the Nalinikāj. (No. 526), which undoubtedly represents *Ṛiśyaśṛiṅga*, and even in *J.* V, 431 one of the Burmese manuscripts reads *isimigassa*. From the Gāthā in *J.* V, 425, where women are called *issasiṅgam ivāvattā*, it appears that *ṛiśya* designates the black buck (Antelope cervicapra) with screwshaped horns. On the other hand, the antelope of the relief seems to have short straight horns, and it cannot be denied that,

[1] *DhA.* II, 148; *Mil.* p. 203.

[2] Strangely enough, his identification was rejected by Hoernle and Oldenberg, *JAOS.* Vol. XVIII, p. 191.

[3] Cunningham wrote *isipattanamiga.*

with its slight hunchback, it has more the appearance of a nilgai (Boselaphus tragocamelus) than of a black buck. But even if the animal of the inscription should not be a *ṛiśya*, this could hardly be used as an argument against the proposed translation of *isimigo*, as we may reasonably assume that in such minutiae the sculptor followed his own taste.

The grammatically incorrect use of the nominative *isimigo* in the title of the Jātaka has a parallel in *Sujato gahuto jātaka* in No. B 50.

B 49 (785); Plates VI, XLI

On the same pillar of the North-Western quadrant as No. A 32, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 9). The inscription is engraved over a medallion, directly below the donative inscription No. A 32, but probably in a different hand. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 115; *StBh.* (1879), p. 61 ff.; 137, No. 74 and Pl. XXVI and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 85 (second part), and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 85 (second part); Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. I (1919), p. 19, No. 5, and Pl. V; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 93, No. 217; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 141 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXVII (128); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 155 ff.

Text:

chhadaṁtiya jātakaṁ

Translation:

The Jātaka relating to the six-tusked elephant.

The sculpture to which the label refers was identified by Cunningham with the Chhaddantajātaka, No. 514 of the Pāli Jātaka book. The prose tale is a later and much embellished version of the Jātaka, which is sometimes even at variance with the Gāthās. The chief points of the story as warranted by the Gāthās are as follows. The Bodhisattva is born as a white elephant with six tusks, who lives as a leader of a large herd under a banyan tree near Mount Suvaṇṇapassa. He has two mates, Sabbabhaddā and another whose name was perhaps Subhaddā[1]. The Bodhisattva pays more attention to Sabbabhaddā. In the prose story, for instance, it is told that one day he presents her a large lotus flower which another elephant had offered him. Subhaddā, out of jealousy, starves herself to death and dies with the wish to be reborn as the consort of the king of Benares in order to wreak vengeance on the Bodhisattva. When she has become queen, she pretends to have a craving for the tusks of the white elephant and despatches a hunter to the place where he lives. Attired in the yellow robe of a monk, the hunter hides in a pit and discharges an arrow at the elephant. Although sorely wounded, the Bodhisattva, out of reverence for the hunter's religious dress, does not harm him, and when he is informed that the hunter has come for his tusks, he summons him to saw them off himself before he dies. The queen on receiving the tusks and hearing of the death of her former mate is filled with remorse and dies of a broken heart.

On the right side of the medallion the six-tusked elephant is seen standing under a banyan tree, accompanied by a female elephant who by a lotus flower on her front is characterized as the beloved Sabbabhaddā, while another female elephant appearing in the background is apparently the jealous Subhaddā. On the left the elephant, with an arrow stuck

[1] In the prose tale they are called Mahāsubhaddā and Chullasubhaddā, but in G. 17;34 the name of the favourite she-elephant is Sabbabhaddā, while the name of the second she-elephant does not occur in the Gāthās. Subhaddā is mentioned in G. 29 only as her name in her birth as queen of Benares.

in his navel, is kneeling to let the hunter cut off his tusks with a large saw. On the right of the hunter his bow and an arrow are lying on the ground.

Foucher wrote a special study[1] on the Chhaddantaj. (514) and pointed out the numerous deviations to be found between the Gāthās and the prose account. Leaving aside the prose account of the story, the Bhārhut relief seems to deviate only in two points from the tale as it can be deduced from the Gāthās: the Gāthās 25 ff. tell how the elephant, struck by the arrow, rushes at the hunter to kill him, but retreats when he sees the reddish garment of the hunter which is otherwise worn by the Ṛishis; for, someone who bears the characteristic marks of the Arhats, should not be killed by the pious:

vadhissam etan ti parāmasanto
kāsāvam addakkhi dhajaṁ isīnaṁ ।
dukkhena phuṭṭass' udapādi saññā
arahaddhajo sabbhi avajjharūpo ॥[2]

In the relief, however, the hunter does not wear the garments of a monk, but the usual lower garment and a turban. Now in fact the hunter, according to the Atthavaṇṇanā, puts on yellow garments in order to deceive the elephant and the same thing is told in the Jātaka version as it is found in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā and in the prose of *J.* 221. Nothing, however, of it is said in G. 23, where the preparations made by the hunter in order to kill the elephant are described. The disguise in itself is quite superfluous, as the hunter hides himself in a pit covered by planks in order to shoot from there his arrow at the passing elephant[3]. Obviously the composer of the Gāthās, when he used the word *kāsāva*, thought of the usual dress of the hunter, which is also a red-yellow garment as can be seen from other passages. For instance, according to the legend, the Boddhisattva when he thought of leaving the worldly life exchanged his garments first with the *kāshāya* of the hunter. In the verse *Mvu.* II, 195, 6 f. it is said: *tatrādrākshīd araṇyasmiṁ lubdhakaṁ kāshāyaprāvṛitaṁ*; he requested him: *imau kāśikau gṛihṇītvā dehi kāshāyaṁ tvaṁ mama.* According to the *Mvu.* prose, however, he is not a usual hunter but one created by the Śuddhāvāsa gods. In the *Buddhach.* 6. 60 ff., and in the *Lalitav.* 226, 1 ff.; 238, 1 ff., where the *kāshāya* has already changed to several *kāshāya*-garments, it is likewise said that the hunter was a god who had taken the form of a hunter[4]. It could therefore appear, that the hunter had equipped himself with the *kāshāya* for this special purpose[5]. Aśvaghosha describes the *kāshāya* as the dress suited for the

[1] *Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, p. 231 ff.; *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 185 ff.

[2] The next two Gāthās (26 and 27) with which the elephant is alleged to have addressed the hunter, are certainly later additions. From the words *samappito puthusallena nāgo aduṭṭhachitto luddakam ajjhabhāsi* in G. 28 it can be clearly seen that the elephant has not spoken to the hunter before. Both these Gāthās belong to the Buddhist lyric poetry and as such they are found in the *Dh.* 9, 10. Later on, probably a story modelled on the Chhaddantaj. was invented and in fact there is such a Jātaka, which was taken up as *J.* 221 in the collection, from where it found its way into *DhA.* (1, 80 f.). Whether the verses 967 to 970 in the *Th.* refer to this Jātaka or to the already interpolated Chhaddantaj. is not easy to decide. If one would relate them to the *J.* 221 one must suppose that originally the narrative ran more in conformity with the story of the Chhaddantaj. than the one handed down in the Atthavaṇṇanā, for the Theragāthās speak of a six-tusked elephant that was wounded, while in the *J.* 221 the elephant is not described as six-tusked and escapes the missile of the hunter. Finally, however, it is still more probable that the verses from the *Th.* refer to the Chhaddantaj. But they themselves are perhaps only a later insertion, for there they completely fall away from the context. Besides, I would like to point out that the grammatical commentary on the Gāthās 18-27 has the character of Aṭṭhakathā, for the interspersed *bhikkhave* 48.13; 50.8 makes it probable that the grammatical commentary and the prose narration come from the same author.

[3] In the relief the hunter has struck the elephant from below as the arrow is planted in its belly.

[4] This remark is lacking in the *Divy.* 391, where it is said that the Bodhisattva received *kāshāyāṇi vastrāṇi* from the hunter for his *kāśika* garments; however only a short reference is made to the story.

[5] Subsequently this legend has been further developed in this respect. In the Nidānakathā G. 273 (p. 65) the full equipment of a Buddhist monk which a Mahābrahman, the former Ghaṭikāra, provides, appears in the place of the *kāshāya* of the hunter.

forest (*vanyaṁ vāsaḥ*) although he makes the hunter say that when he goes hunting he is accustomed to put on *kāshāya* in order to produce from a distance trust in the mind of the deer (*ārād anena viśvāsya mṛigān nihanmi*). In the prose of the Chandakinnaraj. (IV, 283, 16) it is also mentioned, without giving any special cause, that the king of Benares when he went hunting put on two *kāsāyāni*, and it is not necessary to imagine the *kāshāya* of the hunter as the robe of a Buddhist monk. The *kāshāya* which, according to the prose of the Jātakas, is worn by the executioner[1], and according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyas.* 1, 19, 11 by the young brahmin students, will have been scarcely different from the *kāshāya* of the hunter. Therefore in this respect it is not necessary to suppose that the sculptor of Bhārhut has deviated from the story as it is given by the Gāthās.

The matter seems to be different with regard to the second deviation on which Foucher lays much stress. In the relief the hunter cuts the teeth of the elephant with a saw, exactly as on the medallion from Amarāvatī, on a fresco at Ajaṇṭā, and a freeze from Gandhāra. According to the Gāthās he uses a *khura* for this purpose. In G. 31 the elephant says to the hunter: *uṭṭhehi tvaṁ ludda khuraṁ gahetvā dante ime chhinda purā marāmi*, and accordingly in the narrative Gāthā 32 we read *uṭṭhāya so luddo khuraṁ gahetvā chhetvāna dantāni gajuttamassa*. In the prose the instrument used is a *kakacha*, a saw (V, 52, 12 f.), and accordingly in the grammatical commentary of G. 31 *khuraṁ* is also explained by *kakachaṁ*. Foucher is of the opinion that the commentator goes too far when he wants us to believe that knives are saws, ' autrement dit que les vessies sont des lanternes '. Now indeed I am also inclined to see in the commentator a man who generally is not very much worried by scruples, whether in linguistic or in material questions. Nevertheless some doubts may have come to him, as perhaps also to others, whether it is possible to cut elephant-teeth with a razor—this undoubtedly is the meaning of *khura*. In this case, however, I believe that he is not to be blamed for he merely became the victim of a corruption of the text. In other cases in the Gāthās where we hear of the cutting of elephant's tusks the instrument used is called *khara*. In *J.* 545, 10 it is said *achchhechchhi kaṁkhaṁ vichikichchhitāni chundo yathā nāgadantaṁ kharena*, ' you have cut off doubts and hesitations like a chunda[2] an elephant tooth with the *khara*'. In *J.* 234, 1 Asitābhū says to her husband who has faithlessly left her that her love for him has vanished: *so'yam appaṭisandhiko kharachchhinnaṁ*[3] *va rerukaṁ* 'it is not again to be joined together as an elephant-tooth[4] cut by a *khara* '. The commentator explains *khara* in both places as *kakacha* ' saw ' and although the word is missing in Sanskrit we do not have any reason to doubt the correctness of his explanation, particularly because the Abhidhānappadīpikā 967 also gives the meaning 'saw' for *khara*. Therefore the supposition lies at hand that also in the Chhaddantaj. *khuraṁ* has been corrupted from *kharaṁ*, which is more rare, and in fact the Burmese manuscript reads *kharaṁ* at all places. On account of this I am quite sure that even according to the Gāthās the instrument used by the hunter was a saw as well as in the other representations mentioned above, and that the Gāthās therefore do not reflect, as Foucher supposes, a version of the story older than the Bhārhut relief.

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[1] *J.* III, 41, 2; 179, 1.

[2] According to the context *chunda* seems to be a worker in ivory. The commentary explains the word by *dantakāra*. There must have been, however, a difference between the *chundas* and the *dantakāras* for in the list of craftsmen in *Mil.* 331 both appear separately: the *chundas* are placed between the *kappakas* (barbers), and *nahāpakas* (bath attendants) on one side and the *mālākāras* (garland-makers), *suvaṇṇakāras* (goldsmiths), *sajjhakāras* (silversmiths) etc. on the other, whereas the *dantakāras* appear between the *chammakāras* (leather-workers), and *rathakāras* (chariot-makers) on the one side and the *rajjukāras* (rope-makers) and the *kochchhakāras* (comb-makers) on the other. *Chunda* is probably the general expression for ' turner ' and is the same as *chundakāra* which in *J.* VI, 339, 12 certainly designates a turner.

[3] Thus we have to read instead of *kharā chhinnaṁ*.

[4] This is the meaning of the word *reruka* according to the commentary.

B 50 (694)[1]; Plates XX, XLI

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.*(1879), p. 76 f.; 130, No. 5, and Pl. XLVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL(1886), p. 61, No. 6, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 6; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 87, No. 203; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 120 f. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XIII (114); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 134.

Text:

Sujato gahuto j[ā]taka

Translation:

The Jātaka (entitled) ' the mad Sujata ' (*Sujāta*)[2].

On the left side of the relief a humped bull is resting on the ground with the forepart of the body raised. To the right, in front of the bull, a boy with long hair combed back is shown in crouching position. With his right hand he holds a bunch of grass up to the bull and is apparently trying to feed it. A man with a turban stands behind him holding his left arm and hand across his breast while his right hand is just to be seen above the head of the boy.

Cunningham already rightly identified this scene as representing the Sujātajātaka (352). According to the story a landlord in Benares became so much afflicted with sorrow at his father's death, that he did not leave the memorial where his father's bodily remains were deposited, neglecting his business, forgetting bathing and eating and always lamenting bitterly. His son Sujāta, who according to the *Samodhāna* is Buddha in one of his former births, cures the grief of his father in an ingenious manner. He goes outside the city where a dead ox[3] is lying and offers grass and water to the animal asking it repeatedly to eat and drink. People passing by wonder at it and go to tell the father that his son apparently had become mad. Now the father forgets his sorrow, goes to his son and reproaches him for his senseless behaviour. But the son points out that the bull lying before him is still having a head, feet and tail, so that there is much more hope to see it stand alive once again than the dead grand-father, whose body has totally vanished, but for whom the father continues to grieve in total neglect of all his duties. Thus the father realizes the foolishness of his lamentations and is cured of his sorrow.

Cunningham hesitatingly proposed to translate the inscription " Birth as Sujāta the Bull-inviter ", taking *gahuto* as a compound-word, made out of *go* or *gav* a bull, and *huto* from the root *hve* to call, invite, or summon. Barua-Sinha call this translation ' quite reasonable ', but take *gohuto* as a compound corresponding to Sk. *gobhṛit* or Pāli *gobhato*, *gobhatako* which according to them means a cow-server or cow-feeder. Hultzsch on the other hand refuses to see in *gahuto* a compound-word and takes it as Sk. *gṛihītaḥ* ' caught, seized, surprised, or understood '. He is followed by Lüders who in his *List* translates *gahuta* as ' mad '. This explanation would correspond to the word *ummattako* occurring in the Pāli Jātaka.

B 51 (810); Plates XX, XLII

On a pillar, now at Pataora. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 65 ff.; 139, No. 97, and Pl. XXVI and LV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 76, No. 155; *IA.*

[1] The treatment of this inscription does not occur in the remnants of Lüders' manuscript.

[2] We give the translation according to the one appearing in Lüders' *List*, which seems to us more probable than the explanation of Barua-Sinha referred to below.

[3] In the relief, however, the bull does not lie on the earth like a dead animal, but, as already mentioned, has the forepart of his body raised. Its attitude is like that of a ruminating animal.

Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 157; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 81 f., No. 193; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 94 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXIV (95a); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 174.

TEXT:

yaṁ bramano avayesi jatakaṁ[1]

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka 'because the brāhmaṇa played'.

The Jātaka, to which the label refers, was identified by Subhūti as the Aṇḍabhūta-jātaka, No. 62 of the Pāli Jātaka book. It is one of the numerous Jātakas illustrating the cunningness of women. The Bodhisattva is a king of Benares, who, when playing at dice with his purohita, used to sing a ditty which states that all women do something wrong when they get an opportunity. On account of the truth of this saying he always wins the game, and the purohita is threatened by utter ruin. In order to break the spell he buys a girl before she has been born and brings her up in his house without ever allowing her to look at a man except himself. When she has grown up, the purohita begins to play again with the king. Whenever the king sings his ditty, the purohita adds: 'excepting my girl', and thereby wins, while the king loses. To seduce the girl, the king then, in a most artful way, has a scamp smuggled into the purohita's house, where they enjoy themselves to their hearts' content. Before the lover takes leave, the couple plays a trick on the brahmin. The girl tells him that she should like to dance and asks him to play the *vīṇā* for her, but blindfolded, her modesty forbidding her to dance while he is looking on. The purohita consents, and when she has danced awhile, she asks him to allow her to hit him once on the head. When the purohita has granted her request, she makes a sign to her lover who is hidden in the chamber, and he deals his unsuspecting rival a terrible blow. When after that the king and the brahmin continue their game, the usual exception of the girl made by the brahmin has lost its power and he loses again. Being informed by the king of the cause of his bad luck, he charges the girl with her misdemeanour, but she proves her innocence by a new trick perpetrated with the assistance of her lover.

A portion of each side of the medallion which bears the inscription has been cut away when the pillar was set up as a beam in a cenotaph outside the village of Pataora. Fortunately the inscription and enough of the sculpture has been preserved to render the identification certain. In the lower half of the medallion the brahmin is sitting, blindfolded and playing the *vīṇā*, while the girl is standing before him stretching out her right hand. An arm with a closed fist appearing between her and the brahmin shows that the lover is concealed behind her. On the right the girl seems to have been represented once more in a dancing attitude. The upper storey of a house with two windows, a balcony and a pinnacled roof, represented in the upper half of the medallion, indicate that the scene is the house of the brahmin. For two reasons the label is of considerable importance for the history of Buddhist literature. The words *yaṁ bramano avayesi*, corresponding to *yaṁ brāhmaṇo avādesi* in the Pāli text, are the first Pāda of the only Gāthā of the Jātaka, and the label proves that the mode of using the first line (*pratīka*) of the first Gāthā as the title of the Jātaka, which has been preserved in the Pāli Jātaka, had not yet gone out of fashion in the second century B.C., although the later custom of calling a Jātaka after the hero or some incident of the story was already quite

[1] From Cunningham's eye-copy and photograph. Cunningham *bumano*, Hultzsch *bram[h]ano*. *bu* is found in B 31, *bra* in B 66; the symbols do not show much difference. I can discover no subscript *ha* in the photograph. Cunningham's eye-copy gives *jātakaṁ*, but the *ja* seems to have no *ā*-sign.

common. Secondly the form *avayesi*, which stands for *avāyesi*, confirms the view that the original text of the Gāthās was composed in the dialect of Eastern India, where intervocalic *d* had been replaced by *y*[1]. *Bramano*, if this is the right reading, is probably only a faulty spelling for *bramhano*; cf. *Bramhadevo* in No. B 66; *Kanhilasa* in No. A 63.

B 52 (769); Plates XX, XLIII

On the same pillar as No. A 66, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 2). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB*. 1874, p. 111; *StBh*. (1879), p. 53; 136, No. 58, and Pl. XXV and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*. Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 72, and Pl.; *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 72; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 101, No. 221a; Barua, *Barh*. Vol. II (1934), p. 158 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCII (137); Lüders, *Bhārh*. (1941), p. 133.

Text:

yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ

Translation:

The Jātaka relating to the market-towns.

Whereas Cunningham imagined to have discovered the scene represented in the sculpture in the famous story of Upakośā and her lovers told in the Bṛihatkathāmañjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara, Andersen in the Index to the Jātaka, p. XV, pointed out that the medallion illustrated an older version of that story which forms an episode of the Mahāummaggajātaka, No. 546 of the Pāli collection[2]. The Jātaka deals with the adventures of the Bodhisattva in his existence as the sage Mahosadha, councillor of king Vedeha. The four envious ministers of the king attempt to supplant him. They steal some ornaments from the royal treasury and send them secretly to Amarā, the wife of the sage. Amarā, who is almost as clever as her husband, keeps an accurate account of these dealings. When the ministers accuse Mahosadha of having stolen the ornaments, the sage escapes in disguise. Amarā invites the four ministers to come to her home. When they arrive, she has them shaved, thrown into the dung-pit and finally put into rush-baskets. Then taking the ornaments with her, she has the baskets carried to the royal palace, and there in the presence of the king she reveals the truth.

In the medallion the king is represented sitting on his throne, attended by a female chaurī-bearer and surrounded by six of his courtiers. On the right, Amarā stands accompanied by a female servant. With her right hand she points at two baskets the lids of which have been taken off, exposing the shaven heads of the ministers, while a third basket is being uncovered by a servant and a fourth still unopened is just arriving, being carried on a pole by two servants.

The divergence of the fable from the Jātaka book with regard to the title of the Jātaka can be sufficiently accounted for from the Pāli text itself. The Mahāummaggajātaka is clearly composed of two parts, the first treating of Mahosadha's marvellous cleverness by which he solves numerous questions and triumphs over the attempts of the four ministers to destroy him, and the second, of his victory over a hostile king by means of a wonderful tunnel. The *pratīka* '*pañchālo sabbasenāya*' (*J*. VI, p. 329) which serves as the title of the Jātaka in its

[1] Cf. H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, edited by E. Waldschmidt, Berlin 1954, § 115.

[2] Barua's interpretation of the sculpture is so palpably wrong that it is unnecessary to discuss it.

present form consists of the first words of the first Gāthā of the second part of the Jātaka (l.c. p.396). It shows that the first part of the story having the words '*maṁsaṁ goṇo*' as its *pratīka* originally formed an independent Jātaka, which in later times, after the redaction of the Jātaka collection, was combined with the Ummaggajātaka having the *pratīka* '*pañchālo sabbasenāya*'. It is apparently the story of Mahosadha's cleverness, now forming the first part of the Jātaka, which is called *yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ* in the inscription, the name referring to the four market-towns at the four gates of Mithilā[1], the scene of Mahosadha's various adventures, cf. Gāthā 41 '*esa maggo yavamajjhakassa*' (l.c.p. 365, 25).

B 53 (802); Plates XX, XLII

On a pillar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 7). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 64 f., and Pl. XXVI; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 156; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 93 f., No. 218; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 145 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXVIII (131); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 133.

Text:

Isis[iṁ]g[iya] j[ā]ta(ka)[ṁ]

Translation:

The Jātaka relating to Isisiṁga (*Ṛiśyaśṛiṅga*)[2].

Cunningham assisted by Minayeff and Subhūti identified the scene to which the label belongs as the introductory story of the Alambusajātaka, No. 523 of the Pāli collection, which is briefly referred to also in the Naḷinikājātaka, No. 526. The Bodhisattva is born as a brahmin, who, when he has reached the proper age, retires to the forest. A doe in the brahmin's privy place eats the grass and drinks the water mingled with his semen and becomes pregnant. When she has given birth to a boy, the brahmin brings him up and instructs him in the practice of meditation. This boy is Isisiṁga, whose love-affairs are the subject of the Jātaka.

In the upper part of the medallion the hermit is seen squatting and attending to the sacred fire. The scene seems to be intended to represent the life of the brahmin in the hermitage which is further indicated by a hut, a vessel with a lid and two vessels filled with food and suspended in nets from a piece of wood. In the lower right corner the conception is represented in a most naturalistic manner. In the centre the hermit is taking up the boy who has just been brought forth by the doe. The dress of the hermit is quite different from that of the ordinary ascetics appearing in the sculptures. He wears his hair coiled up in braids, has a long beard, a girdle and a kind of kilt apparently made of bark or kuśa grass around his loins and the sacred thread over his left shoulder. He is thus clearly characterized as a brahmanical *vānaprastha*, which is in keeping with the Jātaka tale.

B 54 (701); Plates XX, XLIII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 112). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 69 f.; 131, No. 12, and Pl. XXVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 12, and Pl.; Warren, *Two Bas-Reliefs*

[1]Cf. Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* Vol. LII (1898), p. 643.

[2]Cf. Lüders, *Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* (Gött. Nachr. Phil. Hist. Kl. 1897, pp. 87-135, especially p. 133, *ibid.* 1901, pp. 28-56), reprinted in *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, pp. 1-43, pp. 47-73, especially p. 41.

of the Stupa of Bharhut (1890), p. 8 ff.; Hultzsch, *IA*. Vol. XXI (1892), p. 226; 228, No. 12; Barua-Sinha, *BI*. (1926), p. 91, No. 211; Barua, *Barh*. Vol. II (1934), p. 135 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. II (3) and LXXXIV (125)[1]; Lüders, *Bhārh*. (1941), pp. 91-112.

TEXT:

kinarajātakaṁ

TRANSLATION:

The Kinnarajātaka.

The lower half of the sculpture to which the inscription belongs has been broken off, but enough remains to show that it represented a well-dressed man seated in an arm-chair[2], together with a man and a woman, who by their kilts made of leaves are characterised as kinnaras, standing on his left. Whether the kinnaras have been represented with bird-legs cannot be said as the lower part of the relief is broken away.

Cunningham, Rhys Davids[3], and Grünwedel[4] identified the sculpture with the Chandakinnarajātaka, No. 485 of the Pāli Collection. It is the story of a king who in the Himālaya meets a kinnara couple, falls in love with the kinnarī and shoots her husband, but leaves her, when she, enraged, rejects his love-suit. Sakka, moved by her lamentations, revives the husband.

Vogel found a representation of the Jātaka in the Gandhāra sculpture[5] published by Foucher, *Mém. conc. l'Asie Orientale*, Tome III, p. 23 f., and Pl. IV, 4; 5. The sculpture follows closely the text as it appears in the Gāthās of the Jātaka. At first (1)[6] we see the kinnara-couple diverting itself; the man plays the harp, and the woman dances to its music. In the second scene (2) they continue their play, but now they are watched by the king, who is concealed behind a tree. The king rides the horse with the bow at his back. In the next scene (3) we see the king standing behind a rock having the bow bent and aiming at the man who still plays on his harp, while his wife is dancing. A tree separates this picture from the following scene. (4) Here the man, shot to death, lies on the ground and the harp is seen in front of him. The woman sits lamenting at his side. The king has taken her by her hand to take her away. In the next scene (5) he still holds her by the hand. She, enraged, rejects him. The scenes, which may have followed, are lost. The representations on Burmese tiles are more simple. On a tile from the Maṅgalachetiya in Pagan[7], the archer has just charged the arrow which can be seen flying in the air. The kinnara sits before him, with the arrow in his breast, his lamenting wife at his side. On another tile from the Pagoda of Petleik[8] three is a man who directs his bent bow against the kinnara standing at the side of

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[1] Photograph; earlier in Cunningham's work, only a sketch had been given.

[2] A man sitting in a similar chair is found in the relief from Gayā in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. IV; Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, fig. 63. Barua, p. 109, has probably rightly seen in this relief the representation of the Sujātaj. (306).

[3] *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Vol. I, p. CII.

[4] *Buddhist. Studien*, p. 92.

[5] It is kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, a replica in the British Museum. Jitendra Nath Banerjee, without knowing the article of Foucher, published the relief anew and identified it with the same Jātaka in *IHQ*. X, p. 344 ff.

[6] I do not know why Foucher takes the first two scenes in reversed order. The repetition of the kinnara couple thereby becomes ununderstandable and the succession of the scenes in the whole frieze is disturbed.

[7] Grünwedel, *Buddh. Studien*, fig. 69; Foucher, l.c. p. 32, fig. 5 a.

[8] Foucher, l. c. Pl. IV, 6.

his wife. From the heaven Sakka descends to make good the calamity brought about by the man.

Warren[1] rejected, in my opinion rightly, the identification of the relief from Bhārhut with the Chandakinnaraj. mentioned above, as there does not exist the slightest similarity between the two. In the Jātaka, the king shoots the kinnara in a mountain range or in a forest; here, however, the kinnara and his wife stand in front of the king who sits comfortably in an arm-chair. Warren himself wanted to explain the relief as a representation of the Bhallāṭiyajātaka (504). The Bhallāṭiyaj., different from the bulk of the Jātakas, is a complete, small epic poem which in its prose does not offer anything beyond the statements about the persons engaged in dialogue, exactly as it happens in the Mahābhārata. The contents are as follows:—

Bhallāṭiya, king of Benares, sees, when hunting on the Gandhamādana mountain, a kinnara couple, which embraces each other weeping and lamenting. On his question the kinnarī tells him as the cause of their grief that they had been separated for one night by a swollen river 697 years ago. This moving story is inserted into another one, which is narrated by a person called *samaṇa,* as becomes clear from the last three Gāthās. This *samaṇa* adds the admonition, apparently addressed to a married couple, to avoid quarrel and fight. He therefore receives the thanks of one of them, whether of the husband or of the wife cannot be decided from the Gāthās. According to the prose narration the *samaṇa* is the Buddha himself who, with the help of the story, reconciled king Pasenadi and his wife Mallikā after they have had a matrimonial quarrel. Later on the queen expressed her thanks to him.

Oldenberg[2], though hesitatingly, followed the identification of Warren. Foucher also first joined him and explained as Bhallāṭiyajātaka[3] two reliefs from the Boro-Budur, where a king is depicted in a scenery of rocks having a conversation with a kinnara couple, whereas Grünwedel, l.c., considered the same as representing the Chandakinnarajātaka. Since the Gandhāra frieze mentioned above was discovered, Foucher became inclined to the view that in Bhārhut as well as on the Boro-Budur the Chandakinnarajātaka was depicted: 'si grande est la routine de l'art bouddhique'[4]. I cannot believe in the correctness of this view. The oldest illustration of the Chandakinnarajātaka is given in the Gandhāra frieze. If this was the traditional one, then we should expect that the representations in Bhārhut and on the Boro-Budur were similar to it, but this is not the case and it does not convince me that the Javanese artist should have suppressed the essential episode, the murder of the kinnara, as violating the sentiment, and that he should have depicted instead of it the king in conversation with the kinnara couple, although the story does not give any occasion for such a talk. The attitude of the figures —the kinnara-couple speaking, the king worshipping the two with hands joined together—seems to me to speak decisively in favour of the interpretation of the Javanese reliefs as Bhallāṭiyajātaka.

On the other hand I agree with Hultzsch who opposed the identification of the Bhārhut relief not only with the Chandakinnarajātaka but also with the Bhallāṭiyajātaka, for the reason that the king sitting in his arm-chair can impossibly represent the king hunting in the mountains as told in the Bhallāṭiyajātaka. Foucher as well declares, that this reason

[1] Warren, *Two Bas-Reliefs of the Stupa of Bharhut,* p. 8 ff.

[2] *JAOS.* XVIII, p. 188; 191.

[3] *Beginnings of Buddhist Art,* p. 242; Pl. XLI, 1. Ijzerman had already referred to the plates from the Boro-Budur. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* V, 1, p. 577 ff.

[4] *Mém. conc. l'Asie Orientale,* Tome III, p. 7 f.

ought to be decisive if one were to trust the sketch of Cunningham. That this sketch does not deserve suspicion is proved by the publication of the photograph. So today possibly Foucher also would consent to the identification of the relief proposed by Hultzsch with the *kinnara-episode*, the last tale in a series of stories narrated to the former Purohita of king Brahmadatta of Benares by his pupil and present Purohita Takkāriya in the Takkāriyajātaka (481)[1].

The tale is quite clear in its course, although the text is badly preserved and the Gāthās therefore give great difficulties in details. A hunter catches a kinnara-couple in the Himavat and brings it to the king in Benares to whom such beings are quite unknown. When he hears from the hunter that kinnaras are clever in dancing and singing, he commands them to show their art. In fear of making an error and saying something false the pair remains silent. Enraged the king orders (G. 7):

" They are not gods, and also not Gandharvas. They are animals brought[2] to me for the sake of profit. This one may be roasted for supper, the other one, however, may be roasted for breakfast[3] ".

Now the kinnarī regards it timely to speak. She says (G. 8):

" A hundred thousand of bad speeches do not weigh as much as one piece of good speech. Fearing calamity from bad speech, the kinnaras are silent, not out of stupidity[4]".

The king, pleased with the kinnarī, answers (G. 9):

" The one who spoke to me, should be set free and be taken to the Himavat-range. But the other one is to be delivered to the kitchen and roasted in the early morning for breakfast ".

Now the kinnara also feels urged to open his mouth (GG. 10-12):

" The cattle depend on the god of rain, these beings on the cattle. On you, oh great king, I depend; on me, my wife depends[5]. One of us when released, could only go into the mountains, after having known that the other one is dead[6] ".

" Censure in fact cannot be easily avoided[7]. The men with whom one has to manage, are different, oh king. The thing for what the one receives praise, for that the other meets with a censurer."

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[1] *IA.* XXI, p. 226; *JRAS.* (1912), p. 407.

[2] Instead of *migā ime atthavasābhatā ime*, which is also metrically incorrect, *migā ime atthavasābhatā me* is to be read. In the grammatical commentary later on the two last words have been explained in conformity with the contents of the story, but the *me* is attested by *mama: atthavasābhatā ime ti atthaṁ pachchāsiṁsantena luddenānītattā atthavasena mama ābhatā.*

[3] In the fourth pāda the Siṁhalese mss. give *ekañ cha puna pātarāse pachantu*, the Burmese *ekañ cha naṁ puna pātarāse pachantu*. The original reading was probably *ekaṁ puna pātarāse pachantu.*

[4] *Dubbhāsitaṁ saṁkamāno kileso tasmā tuṇhī kimpurisā na balyā.* The third pāda cannot be right; the explanation of the commentator, who seems to take *kileso* as verbum finitum, is without value. I should suppose—*dubbhāsitā saṁkamānā kilesaṁ.* It is to be noted that *kilesa* apparently has not been used in the Buddhistic sense.

[5] The edition reads according to the Burmese mss. *nātho 'ham bhāriyāya cha*, but C^s *mama nāthā mama bhariyā mama nāthā*, whereas C^k has only *mama bhariyā.* The commentary, according to the Siṁhalese mss. reads—*mama nāthā ti mama pana bhariyā mama nāthā aham assā patiṭṭho.* Here, corresponding to the *tvaṁ-nātho* in the third pāda, *mama nāthā* stands clearly instead of *maṁnāthā*, and the pāda originally read *maṁnāthā bhariyā mama* or *maṁnāthā mama bhariyā*, where *bhariyā* is the representative of the original eastern form *bhāliyā.*

[6] The two last pādas read in the text and the commentary without any variant *dvinnam aññataraṁ ñatvā mutto gachchheyya pabbataṁ*, which is not understandable to me. The commentary explains: *amhākaṁ dvinnaṁ antare eko ekaṁ mataṁ ñatvā sayaṁ maraṇato mutto pachchhā Himavantaṁ gachchheyya* | *jīvamānā pana mayaṁ aññamaññaṁ na jahāma* | *tasmā sa che si imaṁ Himavantaṁ pesetukāmo paṭhamaṁ maṁ māretvā pachchhā pesehīti. aññataraṁ* is perhaps an attempt to rectify *aññatamaṁ* distorted from original *aññaṁ mataṁ.* I have translated accordingly, but I am by no means sure to have found the right meaning.

[7] *na ve nindā suparivajjayā che*, with the reading *suparivajjayetha* in the Burmese manuscripts. The *che* is ununderstandable, and passed over in the commentary.

" Everyone is without understanding for somebody who understands (the matter) differently than how he does. Everybody has understanding for the man who yields to (one's own) understanding. All beings understand (things) in their own way, each one for himself. Whose understanding shall I follow under these circumstances[1] ? "

The king thereupon releases the kinnara too and the story ends with a Gāthā, wrongly attributed to the king in the prose account (G. 13):

" The kinnara together with his wife stood silent. Because he spoke, fearing danger for himself, he became free, safe and sound. Speech, indeed, brings profit to men. "

Nobody can deny that the relief is in best conformity with this narration. Only the label seems to go against this identification, as indeed the story of the kinnaras in the form as it is handed down, is in reality no Jātaka but only cited in a Jātaka as an example. Now it is quite possible that the story was originally an independent Jātaka. In any case, however, it must have been taken into the Takkāriyaj. before the final redaction of the Jātaka-collection was made, for the Takkāriyaj. with its 13 Gāthās is rightly inserted in the Terasanipāta. I therefore should like to believe that Kinnarajātaka is only another name for the Takkāriyaj. The nomenclature appears justified from two points of view. The narration of the kinnaras is not only the most important part of the Jātaka in regard to its size—it comprehends more than half of all the Gāthās—but in respect to its essence as well: the whole little poem teaches nothing but worldly wisdom in an unbuddhist manner, and ends with the climax in the last words: *vāchā kir' ev' atthavatī narāṇaṁ* ' speech, indeed, brings profit to men '.

Supplementary Note on the Takkāriyajātaka

The Takkāriyajātaka, due to various reasons, is one of the most interesting in the Pāli collection. According to the prose narration the contents are as follows: King Brahmadatta of Benares has a Purohita possessing yellow eyes and protruding teeth[2]. The wife of the Purohita has illicit relations with another brahmin of the same appearance. The Purohita resolves to get rid of his rival by a stratagem. He goes to the king and tells him that the Southern gate of his town is badly fortified and is inauspicious. One ought to build a new one made out of auspicious timber and fix it after offering a sacrifice to the tutelary deities of the town under an auspicious constellation. The king consents. The Purohita has the new gate made, the old one pulled down, and announces to the king that on the following day there would be a favourable date to offer the sacrifice and to erect the gate. He further adds that one ought to sacrifice and bury underneath the gate a brahmin possessing yellow eyes and protruding teeth. When the Purohita returns to his house, he is not able to keep silent, being full of joy over the success of his stratagem and tells his wife that he would sacrifice her lover the next morning. The wife in a hurry warns her lover, who thereupon runs away from the town together with all the other brahmins having yellow eyes and protruding teeth. When on the morning of the offering-day no other suitable brahmin is to be found the king commands to kill the Purohita and give his office of Purohita to his pupil Takkāriya. The old Purohita is brought to Takkāriya in fetters who explains to him in a series of stories, the bad results of untimely speaking and saves him afterwards from death by pretending that the favourable constellation has not arrived. He lets the day pass. At night he allows his teacher to escape unnoticed and performs the sacrifice with a dead ram.

[1] The text and the commentary of the Gāthā are distorted in many ways. In the first pāda certainly *parachitte* has to be read instead of *parachitto* corresponding to *chittavasamhi* in the second pāda. In the last pāda we have to read either *kass'īdha chittassa vasena vatte* or *kass'īdha chittassa vase nu vatte.*

[2] *AO.* XVI, p. 131 ff.

The gentle conclusion of the story has obviously been added only when the small poem containing nothing specific Buddhistic was made a Jātaka. In the Jātaka the role of the Bodhisattva could only be attributed to Takkāriya. By this fact, however, the sacrificing of the Purohita by Takkāriya became excluded. The narrator even avoids to speak of the killing of the sacrificial animal used instead of the Purohita. He makes Takkāriya sacrifice a 'dead' ram (*mataṁ eḷakaṁ*).

The word Takkāriya assigned as a name to the pupil of the Purohita appears in the first two Gāthās. In G. 1 the Purohita laments:

aham eva dubbhāsitaṁ bhāsi bālo
bheko v'araññe ahim avhayāno ı
Takkāriye sobbham imaṁ patāmi
na kir' eva sādhu ativelabhāṇī ıı

"I myself as a fool have spoken bad words like the frog in a forest, who calls the serpent to the spot. Takkāriya[1], I fall down in this pit. Indeed, it is not good to speak at improper time"[2].

Takkāriya answers:

pappoti machcho ativelabhāṇī
evaṁ vadhaṁ sokapariddavañ cha ı
attānaṁ yeva garahāsi ettha
āchera yan taṁ nikhananti sobbhe ıı

"So the man, who speaks at improper time, experiences death, as well as grief and lamentation. You ought to blame yourself in this case[3], oh teacher, if they bury you in the pit".

The form *Takkāriye*, for which the Siṁhalese manuscripts read *Takkāriyo* in the text as well as in the commentary, offers difficulties. The commentator had undoubtedly the reading *Takkāriye* before his eyes, as he explains the word as feminine: *tassa Takkāriyāti itthiliṅgaṁ nāma*. This explanation is of course impossible. I cannot follow Hertel[4] either, when he expresses the view that the person addressed was originally a female, perhaps the wife of the Purohita. From the stanza of the response it is apparent that the Purohita is the teacher of Takkāriya. Takkāriya therefore must have been his pupil. The right explanation of the form, as I think, has been given by Geiger (*Pāli Gr.*, p. 81). He takes it as a 'Magadhism' and quotes as a parallel *Bhesike* which appears in *D.* I, 225 f. as a vocative of the name *Bhesika*.

The name Takkāriya is somewhat striking. A *gotra* of this name is not known. Inscriptions from the middle ages, however, mention on different occasions a place Tarkāri or Tarkārikā, instead of which sometimes Ṭakkārikā is written. It is a centre of Vedic studies from where many families of brahmins went to the East and South[5]. The place was situated in Madhyadeśa in the vicinity of Śrāvastī. That means a region which fell certainly into the mental horizon of the author of the Gāthā.

We therefore may suppose that Tarkāri was a settlement of brahmins many centuries before it appears in the inscriptions mentioned, the inhabitants of which called themselves with pride Tarkārikas or Takkāriyas.

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[1] I take this as a vocative, see below.

[2] This is apparently the sense of the last pāda, although it is expressed in a somewhat round about manner.

[3] Perhaps we have to read in accordance with the Siṁhalese manuscripts *etto* 'therefore', although the commentator explains the word by *etasmiṁ kāraṇe*.

[4] *ZDMG.* LX, p. 785.

[5] The references are collected and discussed by N. G. Majumdar, *IA.* XLVIII, p. 208 ff.

If the Jātaka were to contain only the first two Gāthās, the prose narration would not offer any difficulty except in the concluding portion. But doubts about its originality are raised when one examines the stories put into the mouth of Takkāriya. They are clearly divided into two groups. At the beginning there are four short stories of men acting as foolishly as the Purohita. Each story contains a Gāthā ending with the words: *ayaṁ pi attho bahu tādiso va* 'also this case is highly similar'. Next follows the long and very different story of the king and the kinnara-couple, already known to us, containing not less than seven Gāthās.

The contents of the first four stories are as follows:

1. The courtesan Kālī in Benares has a brother named Tuṇḍila who spends the money she gave him on women, drinks, and games. One day after losing everything, he comes, dressed only in loin-cloth, to his sister and begs money of her. She refuses to aid him. Just when he stands weeping before the door, the son of a rich merchant comes to visit the courtesan. He asks Tuṇḍila the cause of his grief and when he does not succeed in making the courtesan have pity on her brother, he gives Tuṇḍila his own clothes and himself puts on the garments usually given to the visitors in the house of the courtesan for the night. The next morning, when he wants to leave, these garments are taken away by female servants so that he has to move on the street naked and mocked at by the people. The Gāthā runs as follows:

kim ev' ahaṁ Tuṇḍilam ānupuchchhe
kaṇeyyasaṁ bhātaraṁ Kālikāya[1] ।
naggo v' ahaṁ vatthayugañ cha jīno
ayam pi attho bahu tādiso va ॥

"Why should I have inquired after Tuṇḍila, the younger brother of Kālikā? Now I am naked and deprived of both garments. Also this case is highly similar'.

2. A Kuliṅka-bird tries to separate two fighting rams, as it fears that they will kill each other. When they do not listen to its words, it flies between the fighting ones and gets crushed by the heads of the clashing animals. The Gāthā reads:

yo yujjhamānānam ayujjhamāno
meṇḍantaraṁ achchupatī kuliṁko ।
so piṁsito meṇḍasirehi tattha
ayam pi attho bahu tādiso va ॥

"The Kuliṅka which, without fighting, flew[2] between the contending rams was crushed there by the heads of the rams. Also this case is highly similar".

3. Cowherds from Benares wish to get fruits from a palm-tree[3]. They make one of them climb up the tree and throw the fruits down. At the very moment a black serpent crawls up the trunk of the tree. Four of the men standing below hold a cloth at four corners and ask their companion to spring down on it. He does so, but comes down with such force that the four are not able to stand upright but strike their heads against each other, so that all come to death. The Gātha reads:

chaturo janā potthakam aggahesuṁ
ekañ cha posaṁ anurakkhamānā ।
sabbe va te bhinnasirā sayiṁsu
ayam pi attho bahu tādiso va ॥

[1] The edition reads: *ānupuchcheyyaṁ kareyya saṁ bhātaraṁ Kālikā yaṁ;* the emendation according to *CPD*, I, p. 201.

[2] *achchupatī* is explained in the *CPD* as metrical haplology for *achchupapati* from *achch-upa-patati*. Differently, but not convincing, Kern, *Toev.* I, p. 61.

[3] Read *Bārāṇasivāsino va gopālakā phalitaṁ tālarukkhaṁ disvā.*

" Four men took a cloth, and while saving one man, they all lay down with their heads broken. Also this case is highly similar ".

4. Thieves have stolen a goat and concealed it in a bamboo thicket. When they arrive on the next day in order to slaughter the animal, they find that they have forgotten to bring a knife with them. They free the goat. It jumps around happily, and when it strikes out with the legs, a knife appears, which a maker of wickerwork has concealed there in the bamboo thicket. Immediately the thieves take it and slaughter the goat. The Gāthā reads:

ajā yathā ve.ugumbasmiṁ baddhā
avekkhipantī asik' ajjhagañchhi ।
ten' eva tassā galak' āvakantaṁ
ayam pi attho bahu tādiso va ॥

" When[1] the goat, bound in the bamboo thicket, found the knife, while striking out[2] (with the leg), its throat was cut with it. Also this case is highly similar ".

At the first look, perhaps, the similarity of these stories with the narration of the Purohita, stated in the refrain of the Gāthās, seems to consist only in the fact that all cases deal with a calamity brought about by oneself. One is instantly reminded of the stanza spoken by Damanaka in the Tantrākhyāyika (I, 54), when he brings Saṁjīvaka to his master Piṅgalaka and thereby loses his influence on the lion:

jambuko huḍuyuddhena vayaṁ chāshāḍhabhūtinā ।
dūtikā tantravāyena trayo 'narthās svayaṁ kṛitāḥ ॥

" The jackal by the fight of rams, and we by Āshāḍhabhūti, the female-messenger by the weaver, these three are made unhappy by themselves ".

Here also three completely different tales are bound together by the thought that in all cases the calamity is due to one's own actions. The first story even has a parallel in the second story of the Jātaka. A jackal sees two rams fighting. It throws itself between the two in order to lick the blood which drops from their foreheads and thus meets with death between the heads of the fighting animals. But there is some important difference between these two narrations. The jackal is driven by its thirst for blood between the rams; the Kuliṅka, however, by the wish to save them from calamity. The wish to help others is also the motive of action for the son of the merchant and the four men in the third tale. Only in the story of the goat and the knife it seems to be missing. It also does not appear in the numerous other versions of the tale[3]. However, I am convinced that in the original prose narration the finding of the knife was not a matter of chance but that the idea of the story was as follows: Thieves once had stolen a goat in order to eat it and had hidden it in a bamboo thicket. When they intended to salughter the goat, the knife was lost in the thicket. In order to help them the goat took part in the search, found the knife, and so brought death to itself. Only in this way the narration fits into the context. It is quite possible that the author thereby brought a new characteristic into the old story of the goat and the knife (*ajākṛipaṇīyam*[4]), but he changed somewhat also the second story to suit his purpose. Certainly the Kuliṅka here took the place of the jackal secondarily, for whereas the intreference

[1] *yathā* is striking. Do we have to read *yadā*?

[2] Andersen, *ZDMG*. LXVI, p. 145, thinks of deriving *avekkhipanī* from **avaskipati=avakshipati*, which seems to be too bold.

[3] The whole literature is mentioned in Edgerton's instructive article " *The Goat and the Knife: An Automatic Solution of an Old Crux*", *JAOS*. LIX, p. 366 ff.

[4] For the compound cf. Kāśikā to *Pāṇini* V, 3, 106.

of the jackal is motivated by its natural greed, the Kuliṅka really has no reason to interfere with the fight of the rams.

To this may be added that the purpose of the story of the kinnara told by the pupil at the end is clearly to show that a word spoken at the right time brings profit. We should therefore expect that the preceding examples show that untimely speech leads to calamity, in the same way as in the second Gāthā Takkāriya expressly refers the Purohita to the fact that a man when he speaks at the improper time experiences death, calamity, and grief. Instead of this, cases are mentioned in which the intention to help others leads to disaster. Now the Purohita brought himself to calamity by untimely speaking, however in no way did he speak with good intention. In the present prose account the examples cited do not fit into the main narration. If it were narrated that he spoke an untimely word to help others and thereby nearly brought himself to death, then it would be understandable that the pupil told him other cases " highly similar " of well-meant but untimely interference in the affairs of others, and gave at the end an example of talking at the right time.

In fact a story, corresponding to these requirements, is widely spread in later literature. We know of it, thanks to Hertel, who in *ZDMG.* LX, p. 778 ff., *Pañchatantra* p. 140, collected the different versions of the tale and compared it with the Jātaka.

In the Pañchatantra translation of Dubois[1] (1) Damanaka narrates the following in order to show that it is dangerous to tell the truth to kings. King Darma-Dahla of Oudjyny (Ujjayinī) gets a big tank dug out, but it is not possible to fill it with water, as all the water flows out into a deep cavity by some unnoticeable gap. A muni instructs him that this is a consequence of some magic which would end only when a Rājaputra or a muni is sacrificed. The king immediately orders to kill the muni, to whom he owes the advice, and to throw his body into the tank. The body by chance fills up the gap, so that the tank gets filled and can be used to fertilize the land all around.

Another version is preserved in the story No. 25 of the Tantrākhyāna (2)[2]. The opening stanza says:

hitaṁ na vākyam ahitaṁ[3] *na vākyaṁ*
hitāhitaṁ yady ubhayaṁ na vākyam ।
Kuruṇṭhako[4] *nāma Kaliṅgarājā*
hitopadeśī vivaraṁ pravishṭaḥ ॥

" One shall not speak something profitable nor something unprofitable, nor shall one speak, when something is both, profitable and unprofitable: A king of Kaliṅga, Kuruṇṭhaka by name, entered the gap in the earth, because he had given good advice ".

In the tale belonging thereto it is narrated that the king Kuruṇṭhaka of Kaliṅga once rides out for hunting. His horse runs away with him and carries him to a village, where suddenly a gap in the earth has appeared which the people cannot fill in by any means. The king tells them that it can be filled if a man bearing lucky marks can be offered in sacrifice. As he himself is the only man of this kind he is thrown into the earth gap.

In the fourth tale of the Pañchākhyānavārttika(3)[5], instead of the king, a skull-bearing ascetic named Koraṇṭaka appears. The opening stanza reads here:

hitaṁ na vāchyam ahitaṁ na vāchyaṁ
hitāhitaṁ naiva cha bhāshaṇīyam ।

[1] *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 34.
[2] Bendall, *JRAS.* XX, p. 491; Hertel, *Pañchatantra*, p. 318.
[3] Bendall: *tv ahitaṁ.*
[4] In L *Kāruṇṭhako.*
[5] Hertel, *Pañchatantra*, p. 139 f.

Koraṇṭako nāma kapālayogī
hitopadeśena bilaṁ pravishṭaḥ ||

The story is according to Hertel: In the town Kaṇyāpura Pāṭaṇa, king Kanakasēkhara rules. He gets a tank dug out near the town in which, however, no water can be retained, although he makes it laid out with stone, with glass and with tin one after the other. A visiting ascetic who bears the 32 lucky marks on his body, confirms the view of the minister that a hostile demon (*vyaṁtara*) is responsible for the disaster, and informs the king, when asked, that it is necessary to kill a man, bearing the 32 lucky marks on his body. He adds that this man should be buried in a hole underneath the tank, and that a chapel should be erected at the place. The king orders his minister to find out such a man. As no one besides the ascetic is to be found the minister orders to kill the ascetic himself in consequence of his advice.

This version is in conformity with the 114th tale in Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara (4)[1]. Only the names are different. The inhabitants of the village Pūraṇa have constructed a tank in which the water does not remain. When all other means do not help, the people turn to a great yogin, named Sūranātha, who advises them to bury in the tank a man possessing the 32 lucky marks on his body. As Sūranātha himself bears the marks he becomes the victim of his own advice.

The opening stanza of the Pañchākhyānavārttika with the variants *tu* for *cha* in b, *Heraṇḍako nāma kapālabhikshur* in c, and *hitopadeśāch cha* in d, recurs in the recension ξ of the Southern textus simplicior of the Pañchatantra (5)[2]. But the story here deviates. The king in order to have a field irrigated gets a dam put across a river. The river, however, runs out through a gap in the earth. A muni named Heraṇḍaka informs the king that the gap can be filled if a king or a muni throws himself into it. The king is ready to sacrifice himself but the muni declares that the king should not die; therefore he would throw himself into the gap.

In this form the story appears still often in South India. Hertel, *Pañchatantra*, p. 68, mentions that it forms the first tale in the collection '*Folklore of the Telugus*' by G. R. Subramiah Pantulu (6)[3]. The monk here bears the name Erunda. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, p. 108, hinted at the fact that it reappears in the legendary history of the Choḷa kingdom (7). The river there is the Kāverī. The tale is mentioned shortly by Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection* I, p. 183[4]. According to it the king was named Kanaka, the muni sacrificing himself Eranda.

There still remains a great number of stories showing a relationship more or less apparent with the stories mentioned above. Already Benfey, *Pantschatantra* II, p. 529, has utilized a legend told by Hüan-tsang in great details (8)[5]. It is connected with a monastery lying on a big river more than a hundred *li* to the south-east of the capital of Khotan. This river, used by the inhabitants to irrigate their fields, suddenly ceases to flow. The king on the advice of an ascetic, brings an offering to the Nāga in the river, whereupon a woman emerges from the water and tells the king that the river has dried up because the Nāga, her husband, died. He should give her one of his great ministers as husband. A high official, after donating a monastery, declares that he is ready to sacrifice himself for the benefit of all. On a white horse he rides into the river and is drowned. After a short while the horse emerges with a drum of sandalwood on its back. The drum contains a letter

[1] In the translation of Hertel, Vol. II, p. 25 f.
[2] Hertel, *ZDMG.* LX, p. 779; LXI, p. 34.
[3] I do not have access to the book.
[4] Cf. H. H. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, II, p. CCLXVI.
[5] Beal, *Si-yu-ki* II, p. 319 ff.

reporting to the king the success of the sacrifice. When the drum is suspended in the south-east of the town, the river again begins to flow. Hüan-tsang adds that at his time the drum had disappeared since a long time, and of the monastery only ruins were to be seen.

Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, p. 109, has already referred to the eighth story of the Vikramacharita (9). In the Southern recension, placed at the top by Edgerton in his edition[1], it is narrated that a merchant in Kashmir has a tank dug out to erect therein a temple dedicated to Vishṇu lying on the water. But the water let into the tank always flows away. A heavenly voice announces that the water would remain only if the tank is sprinkled with the blood from the throat of a man, carrying the 32 lucky marks on his body. The merchant in vain promises 100 loads of gold as a reward to a man who offers himself for sacrifice. When king Vikrama has heard of the happening, he resolves to give his life for the sake of the people. He goes there and begins to cut his throat. At this moment a deity holds him back and allows him to choose a boon. The king desires that the tank may be filled, which then immediately happens. There are deviations in the other recensions of the work of which I may only mention that in the metrical recension the merchant offers as a reward seven golden statues, whereas in the shorter and in the Jain recensions, only one statue, made out of ten loads of gold, is promised.

The motif of the golden statue recurs in a tale of the Samyaktvakaumudī (10)[2]. The gate of the city Varaśakti during its construction by king Sudharma falls down thrice. His minister advises the king to sprinkle it with the blood of a man, killed by the ruler himself, in order to make the gate firm. This plan is not liked by the pious king; on the advice of another high official, however, he has a man made out of gold and jewels and promises that he would give it in reward besides ten million gold pieces, to the man willing to give his son as offering. A brahmin couple offers the youngest of their seven sons, but the king cannot make up his mind to perform the sacrifice, and the deities of the city, satisfied also with the courage shown by the youngster, allow the building of the gate to proceed steadily.

Similarly the sacrifice actually does not take place in the tale of Āmrabhaṭa, narrated in a somewhat unclear manner in Merutuṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, p. 220 f.[3] (11). Āmrabhaṭa has a temple built in Bhṛgupura. When a ditch is being dug the walls collapse, on account of the vicinity of the Narmadā, and begin to bury the workmen. At this moment Āmrabhaṭa, together with his wife and children, jumps into the pit. By this action he removes the obstacle and still comes out alive.

Hertel (*ZDMG.* LX, p. 781) has in this connection further referred to the tale of Āruṇi Pāñchālya in the *Mbh.* I, 3, 19 ff. (12). Āruṇi on the advice of his teacher Āyoda Dhaumya fills in a hole in an irrigated field by creeping inside, and receives the blessings of his teacher for his obedience.

Lastly Hertel (*ibid.* p. 780) has mentioned as a parallel the well-known Roman tale of the formation of the lacus Curtius found in Livius VII, 6 (13).

Let us now review the first seven tales connected with each other by their contents and partly also by formal characteristics. It is quite understandable that the names Kuruṇṭhaka, Koraṇṭaka, Heraṇḍaka in the opening stanza of Nos. 2, 3, 5, and Erunda in No. 6, Eranda in No. 7, all go back to one and the same form. In all cases it is the name of the man, who meets with death. Except in No. 2 this man is everywhere a religious mendicant; in Nos. 3 and 5 he is called more exactly a skull-carrying ascetic. Only in No. 2, where he bears the

[1] *HOS.* XXVI, p. 92 ff.; XXVII, p. 84 ff.; cf. also XXVI, p. LXXX f.
[2] Weber, *SPAW.* 1889, p. 741 f.
[3] p. 136 in the translation of Tawney.

same name as the ascetic in other cases he is supposed to be the king of Kaliṅga. I have no doubt that the *Kaliṅgarājā* in the stanza replaced the original *kapālayogī* (No. 3) or *kapālabhikshuḥ* (No. 5). Now, as it is highly improbable that the villagers kill their own king, the popular motif of the horse running away to a distant place has been brought into it. So it can be supposed that the king comes to a place where he is not known.

The narrations Nos. 1-4 oppose in one point the Southern ones, Nos. 5-7, which are closely related to each other: In Nos. 1-4, the ascetic or the king brings himself to calamity against his own will, in Nos. 5-7, however, he chooses death willingly. Hertel is of the opinion that the motif of self-sacrifice done willingly is the original, because in the opening stanza of Nos. 2, 3, 5, it is mentioned that the ascetic or the king entered the gap (*vivaraṁ* or *bilaṁ pravishṭaḥ*) and was not made to enter it (*praveśitaḥ*). To me, however, it seems that *pravishṭaḥ*, if required by the context of the story, can be understood also as an enforced entering into the earth-hole. This in fact is the case in Nos. 2 and 3. Now the stanza shows as clearly as possible that ' silence is gold ' is the moral of the story. The ascetic or the king brings death upon himself because in giving an advice he does not show regard to it. He, who offers himself willingly as sacrifice, does not come to death by good advice (*hitopadeśena*) but due to generosity. Hertel, in his opinion that the tale originally has been an example of generous self-sacrifice, finds the proof in the stories of Livius (No. 13), in the *Mbh.* (No. 12), and in the Vikramacharita (No. 9). But the Roman story cannot decide anything in this question and the story of Āruṇi is far different in contents. It indeed does not praise generosity but obedience of the pupil to his Guru. The tale of Vikrama, however, is, as most of the stories in the Vikramacharita, an example for the generosity (*audārya*) of the king[1]. In the same way Āmrabhaṭa in the story of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi acts out of generosity and possibly the narration in Nos. 5-7 has been changed under the influence of this and the other related stories. The author of the stanza, however, in my opinion, cannot have thought of the self-sacrifice of the ascetic as it is incompatible with the plain wording of the stanza.

The narration of the ascetic who met with death by giving good advice is in conformity in nearly all points with the original version of the prose narration of the Takkāriyaj. to which we arrived by the examination of the Gāthās. It was not on account of his talkativeness, but because he spoke to help others, that the teacher of Takkāriya found death. The untruthfulness of his wife, the jealousy for the rival, the teacher's intention to get rid of him, all this is apparently later addition of the author of the prose. It is not backed by the Gāthās. Whether in the original narration the teacher was the Purohita of the king is not to be found out from the Gāthās. In any case, however, he was, as is shown by the vocative *āchera* in G. 2, a member of the priestly class as well as the hero in the later stories. It is possible that the matter in which he gave his advice was about the building of a city gate. In No. 10 also a sacrifice of a human being for securing the construction of a city gate occurs. If one compares the expressions *sobbham imam patāmi* in G. 1, *yan taṁ nikhananti sobbhe*, with the expressions *vivaraṁ pravishṭaḥ, bilaṁ pravishṭaḥ* in the stanzas of Nos. 2, 3, 5, it does not seem unreasonable that the poet of the Gāthās had in view a person's being pushed down in an earth-hole, may it be a simple gap in the earth as in No. 2 or, as in Nos. 1, 3-7, an opening in a tank or a river. On the other hand the yellow eyes and the protruding teeth of the Purohita in the Jātaka story may be old and more original than the lucky bodily marks

[1] By the side of it in the different recensions we are also told of his helpfulness, his heroism and his cleverness.

ascribed to the person sacrificed in Nos. 2-4. Just the demoniac appearance makes the man suitable to be offered to some deity[1].

B 55 (786); Plates XX, XLIII

On the left outer face of the return corner pillar of the northern gate, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 28). The inscription is engraved on the roof of a building in the lower relief. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112; *StBh.* (1879), p. 79 ff.; 137, No. 75, and Pl. XVIII and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 31 f., No. 26; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 86, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 86; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 94 ff., No. 220; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 155 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCI (136); Lüders, *Bārh.* (1941), p. 133; Lüders, *Das Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka*, *ZDMG.* XCIX (1949), pp. 103-130, esp. p. 115.

Text:

Vitura-Punakiyajatakaṁ

Translation:

The Jātaka which treats of Vitura (*Vidura*) and Punaka (*Pūrṇaka*).

The Jātaka represented on the pillar bears in the Pāli collection the title of Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka (No. 545). Vidhura is the name of the Bodhisattva, when born as the *kattar*[2] of the Kuru king Dhanañjaya in Indapatta. Vimalā the wife of the Nāga king Varuṇa, having heard of his virtues desires to listen to his discourses on the law. In order to induce the king to bring him to the Nāga world, she pretends to have a sick woman's longing for his heart. The Nāga king instructs his daughter Irandatī to seek for a husband who will be able to fetch the sage. When the Yaksha Puṇṇaka[3] sees Irandatī dancing on a mountain in the Himālaya, he falls in love with her. He rides on his aerial horse to the Kuru king and challenges him to play at dice, risking Vidhura as the king's stake, his own stake being the most precious jewel. The Yaksha wins the game and carries off Vidhura, making him hold on to the tail of his horse. When they arrive on the summit of Mount Kāḷagiri[4], Puṇṇaka

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[1] Compare the use of such a man in the concluding ceremony of the Aśvamedha; *AO.* XVI, p. 142 f.

[2] The meaning of the word *kattar* is given in the Pāli Dictionary as 'an officer of the king, the king's messenger'. Cowell translates 'minister', Dutoit 'helper', Francis (V, 113 f.) in addressing a person 'my Ancient'. But the *kattar* of the Gāthās has undoubtedly the same meaning as Sk. *kshattṛi.* The old form *khattar* is still retained in *D.* 1, 112; 128, and probably *khattar* was changed to *kattar* only in Ceylon where the meaning of the expression was no more clear, and where the word was taken as 'maker' from *kṛi*, or perhaps as 'cutter' from *kṛit*. *Kshattṛi* derived from *kshad* 'to carve, to slaughter, to prepare dishes', originally meant 'the carver of meat, the server, the distributor of food in a noble household'. (For a detailed discussion on the word *kshattṛi* as it appears in the Sk. literature from the Atharvaveda onwards see Lüders, *ZDMG.* XCIX, p. 115 ff.).

[3] *Punaka* in the inscription is naturally only written for *Punnaka*; *Punnaka* in the eastern language, which does not know the lingual *ṇ*, corresponds to *Pūrṇaka*.

[4] The mountain Kāḷāgiri, where Puṇṇaka intends to kill Vidhura (G. 196) lies in the vicinity of Rājagaha. Kāḷāgiri is represented in the *SnA.* (201) by Kāḷapabbata, and is certainly identical with Kāḷasilā, a rock raised, according to *D.* II, 116, at Isigili, the Ṛishigiri of the Sk. texts, near Rājagaha. The home of the poet of the Gāthās was the eastern part of India as is to be seen from his familiarity with the localities and local stories of the east. The wonderful jewel, which Puṇṇaka intends to use as his stake in the game, lies on the summit of the Vepulla (G. 36 ff.), one of the five mountains surrounding Rājagaha. It is apparently identical with the modern Vipulagiri; see Cunningham, *ASR.* Vol. 1, p. 21. Also the *Vipulaḥ* in *Mbh.* 2, 21, 2 f. goes probably back to the name of the mountain. Thus the jewel on the mountain in our Jātaka owes its origin to the local tradition of Rājagaha (for details see Lüders, l.c. p. 113).

That the fairy-tale of Vidhura and Puṇṇaka has its home in eastern India is also shown by the fact that it was originally composed in the eastern language. In the Gāthās many peculiarities of this language appear. In Gāthās 2 and 5 and in the little song of Irandatī (G. 7) even the nom. sg. ending in *-e* has been retained (see Lüders, l.c. p. 112).

tries to kill the sage. He holds the sage with his head downwards over a precipice, when Vidhura succeeds in rousing his curiosity by promising him to inform him about the qualities of a good man. The Yaksha is converted by the discourse of the sage. He declares himself ready to take him back to Indapatta, but Vidhura insists on being led to the Nāga world. When they have arrived there, Vidhura is kindly received by the Nāga king and his wife, who take delight in conversing with him. Puṇṇaka gets Irandatī, presents his jewel to Vidhura and brings him back to Indapatta.

Most of the scenes of the sculpture were already correctly explained by Cunningham. In the upper relief Puṇṇaka and Irandatī are seen talking to each other in a rocky landscape. The rest of the relief is filled by the palace of the Nāga king. In the arched door of the upper storey appears the head of a woman, probably Irandatī. Below, the Nāga king and his wife are seated on a chair. The Nāga king, who is distinguished by a five-headed snake over his head, while his wife has only one snake, is addressing two men who are standing before him, one behind the other, with their hands reverentially joined. The scene undoubtedly represents the return of Puṇṇaka in company with Vidhura to the Nāga's palace. It thus appears that the sculptor has united in the upper relief all scenes connected with the Nāga world without paying attention to the chronological order of the events. Under these circumstances I think it quite probable that the man who is represented entering by a gateway in the left lower corner of the relief is again Puṇṇaka, but this time entering the Nāga palace after his meeting with Irandatī.

The lower relief, which unfortunately is incomplete, is taken up by the gambling scene in the palace of Dhanañjaya in Indapatta. In the courtyard a man is seated on a cushioned chair. By the horse standing on his left and the large square jewel on his chest he is characterized as Puṇṇaka. He was probably represented in the act of gambling with the Kuru king, but the figure of his partner is lost. From the windows and arched recesses in the upper storey of the palace several women are looking out. In the gateway on the left of the relief stands a man who appears to be meant for Vidhura as he wears round his neck the broad collar which is the distinguishing mark of the sage in the middle relief.

In the left lower corner of the middle relief the Yaksha is seen starting on his aerial journey with Vidhura holding on to the tail of the horse. In the upper portion rocks and trees indicate that the scene is the summit of Kāḷagiri. On the right, Puṇṇaka is suspending Vidhura by the heels with head downwards over a precipice, on the left the two appear once more standing side by side. Puṇṇaka, whose figure is half destroyed, has raised his left hand as if speaking to the sage. There remains the group in the lower right corner. Here Puṇṇaka is seen on horseback with Vidhura apparently sitting behind him and clinging to his chest. According to the text of the Jātaka the two are riding in this way to the palace of the Nāga king after the conversion of Puṇṇaka, whereas on the homeward journey the Yaksha grants Vidhura the more honourable seat in front[1]. It seems therefore that the sculptor inserted the group as the connective link between the events on the Kāḷagiri and the arrival in the Nāga world represented in the upper relief.

The hero of the story is identical with the Vidura of the Mahābhārata[2]. The reason

[1] See Gāthās 238 and 294.

[2] The identity of the sage Vidhura with the Vidura of the epic is shown by Lüders, l.c. p. 115 ff. by demonstrating that both held the same office, had the same family-relations (p. 124), and that both were acting in the same way (p. 126).

why the name has been transformed into Vidhura in the Pāli text is not known[1]. The spelling Vitura in the label has a parallel in Kupira in No. B 1. The name of the Yaksha occurs also in the Buddhistic Sanskrit literature. In the *Mahām.*, pp. 235 f., Pūrṇaka is mentioned as one of the four *mahāyakshasenāpatis* who guard the eastern quarter and as one of the four *dharmabhrātṛis* of the mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa[2].

B 56 (709); Plates XXI, XLV

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 81). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 113; Beal, *Academy* Vol. VI (1874), p. 612; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 95; 131, No. 20, and Pl. XLIV and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 119, No. 2; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 20, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 20; *JRAS.* 1912, p. 404 f.; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 94, No. 219; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 153 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXIX (135); Lüders, *Bharh.* (1941), p. 134.

Text:

u[su](kāro) Janak[o] rāj[ā] Sivala devī[3]

Translation:

The arrow-maker. King Janaka. Queen Sivala (*Sīvalī*).

The labels enabled Cunningham to connect the relief in a general way with the Mahājanakajātaka (No. 539), but it was only when the text of the Jātaka had become available that the scene could be identified with an episode in the second part of the story. King Janaka has turned ascetic and is wandering through the country followed by his queen. In vain he tries to persuade her to leave him. When they have reached the city of Thūṇā, Janaka comes on his begging tour to the house of an arrow-maker who is engaged in his work. Closing one eye, he is looking with the other to ascertain if the shaft of the arrow is straight. To the king the use of only one eye by the arrow-maker is a new proof for his conviction that a second person is a hindrance for attaining one's goal and he urges once more upon his wife the necessity of leaving him alone. The sculpture is an exact representation of the story.

The name of the queen in the Gāthās and in the commentary is *Sīvalī*, which occurs as a female name also in *J.* I, 34, 9; 40, 9. It has a parallel in *Sīvali*, the name of a Thera frequently mentioned in Buddhist literature. *Sivala* in the label is therefore probably a clerical error for *Sivalī*, though it may stand for *Sīvalā* or even *Sivalā* (Sk. *Śivalā*), which is the name of an *upāsikā* in the Amarāvatī inscription *List* No. 1268.

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[1] Perhaps the name has been equalized with the name of another person called Vidhura who, in association with Sañjīva, forms the pair of main disciples of the arhat Kakusandha (see *D.* 2, 4; *M.* 1, 333; the stanza 1, 337 = *Theragāthā* 1187 ff.; *S.* XV, 20, 5 (printed Sajīva); Nidānakathā, *J.* 1, 42, 26 (read Vidhuro instead of Vidhūro, as in C[s] C[v]). The *Mahāvadānasūtra*, however, the Sk. text corresponding to *D.* 2, 4, reads Vidura as the name of one of the main disciples of the Buddha Krakasunda, see Waldschmidt, *Mahāvadānasūtra*, p. 76. So Vidura seems to be the original form of the names of both the persons. The Vidhūra in Pāli, as it appears in G. 3; 5; 6 of the Jātaka is apparently a metrical lengthening.

[2] p. 235 *pūrvāyām Ānanda diśāyāṁ chatvāro mahāyakshasenāpatayaḥ prativasanti ye pūrvāṁ diśaṁ rakshanti paripālayanti* ‖ *tadyathā Dīrghaḥ Sunetraḥ Pūrṇakaḥ Kapilaś cha.*

p. 236 *Vaiśravaṇasya mahārājasya dharmabhrātṝṇāṁ nāmāni : Sātāgirir Haimavataḥ Pūrṇakaḥ Khadirakovidaḥ.*

By this Puṇṇaka is proved to be a figure in the local stories of Eastern India. Also the poet of the Gāthās causes in G. 44 Puṇṇaka to call himself a person from Aṅga and so connects him with the East.

[3] The last *akshara* is distinctly *vī*, not *vi* as read by all previous editors.

B 57 (691); Plates XXI, XLII

On a coping stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 111; *StBh.* (1879), p. 78 f.; 130, No. 2, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 119 f., No. 5; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 60, No. 3 and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 3; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 78 ff., No. 189; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 82 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXX (87); Lüders, *Bharh.* (1941), p. 153.

Text:

Maghādeviyajataka[1]

Translation:

The Jātaka concerning Maghādeva.

The story of King Makhādeva of Videha, as he is called in Pāli, who, when his barber showed him the first grey hair from his head[2], renounced his throne and became a hermit, is told in Sutta 83 of the *M.* The story was converted into a Jātaka, the Makhādevajātaka, No. 9 of the Pāli collection, which is briefly repeated in the beginning of the Nimijātaka (No. 541). The sculpture agrees exactly with the Jātaka. In the centre the king is seated in an arm-chair, with his hair hanging loosely on his shoulders. The barber presents him the hair which he has pulled out and the king accepts it with his right hand and turns his head sideways to inspect it. A stand in the foreground carries the utensils of the barber, the shaving-basin and the brush. On the left of the king there is a person with folded hands in respectful attitude. He is apparently Maghādeva's eldest son, to whom the king addresses the Gāthā announcing his retirement from the world[3].

The name of the king has elicited much comment. In the Siṁhalese manuscripts it is generally *Makhādeva*, whereas the Burmese manuscripts have *Magghādeva* and *Magghadeva*. But, as pointed out by Barua-Sinha, the Suttanta of the Majjhimanikāya is referred to in the Chullaniddesa, p. 80, as *Maghādevasuttanta*(sic), and in the Mahāvyutpatti 180, 31 we find *Mahādeva.* This is apparently meant for the name of the Videha king as it is followed by Nemi, the name of one of his successors. In the Sutanojātaka (No. 398) *Makhādeva* is also the name of a Yaksha, or rather of the fig tree in which he dwells. Here the Burmese manuscripts read *Māghadeva.* In the *SnA.*, p. 352, *Maghādeva* occurs as the name of an ancient king. Hoernle takes *Makhādeva* as the original form, while Barua-Sinha think that it goes without saying that *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* are Prakrit forms of *Mahādeva.* I am, on the contrary, convinced that the original form from which all others are distorted is *Maghādeva*[4]. *Maghādeva* belongs to that class of names that are formed by adding *deva* to the name of a constellation; cf. from the Brāhmī inscriptions *Pusadevā* (821=A 120), *Poṭhadevā* (205), *Haggudeva* (29), *Phagudeva* (780=A 30), *Phagudevā* (870=A 75), *Bhāranideva* (874=A 100), *Soṇadevā* (177; 178).

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[1] Barua-Sinha: *-jātaka[ṃ]*, but the *anusvāra* is very uncertain.

[2] For grey hair as messengers of death cf. R. Morris, *JPTS.* 1885, p. 62 ff.

[3] In the prose tale of the Jātaka the king informs first his son of his intention and then, in the Gāthā, his ministers, but in the original tale the Gāthā was probably addressed to his son and the ministers did not appear at all, just as they are not mentioned in the Sutta. The representation of the Jātaka apparently follows the original version, for at the side of the king and the barber, in the medallion, only a man, elegantly clad, appears in respectful attitude.

[4] The Siamese printed edition reads *Maghadeva* throughout.

B 58 (706); Plates XXI, XLVII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 52). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112; *StBh.* (1879), p. 79; 131, No. 17, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 17, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 226; 228, No. 17; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 92, No. 213; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 139 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXVI (127); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 135.

Text:

bhisaharaniya jataka[ṁ]

Translation:

The Jātaka relating to the stealing of the lotus-stalks.

The Jātaka to which the label belongs was identified by Hultzsch with the Bhisajātaka No. 488 in the Pāli collection. It contains an ancient legend referred to already in the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*[1] and told twice in the *Mahābhārata*[2], which by the Buddhists was turned into a Jātaka. In the Pāli story the Bodhisattva is a wealthy brahmin who, together with his six younger brothers, his sister, a male and a female slave and a friend, has renounced the householder's life and dwells as ascetic in the Himavat near a lotus-lake. The six brothers, the slave and the friend take turns to fetch lotus-stalks for food. He, whose turn it is, deposits the stalks he has gathered, divided into eleven portions, on a flat stone. The others then come up and each takes his allotted portion and eats it in his own place. By this mode of life they gain time for practising their austerities. By the power of their virtues Sakka's world trembles, and the god resolves to find out whether they are really free from wordly desires or not. On three successive days he causes the Bodhisattva's share to disappear. When the Bodhisattva accuses his companions of having stolen his lotus-stalks, they, each in his turn, clear themselves of the charge by swearing an oath in which they invoke temporal blessings on the thief. Three other beings who live near the hermitage, a tree-spirit, an elephant, and a monkey join the ascetics in the swearing, but with the difference that they hold out a miserable life for themselves in case they should have been the thieves. Then Sakka who invisibly attended the scene manifests himself, confesses what he has done, and returns the lotus-stalks. The Bodhisattva forgives him.

On the coping-stone an ascetic is seen seated in front of his hut on a stone on which a skin is spread. A well-dressed man carrying a bundle of lotus-stalks approaches him from the right. Around him are a woman wearing an ascetic's dress, an elephant and a monkey squatted on the ground. The sculpture apparently represents the returning of the lotus-stalks by Sakka. Of the witnesses of the scene the sculptor has shown only three—a female who is probably meant for the sister, the elephant and the monkey. He has certainly done so, not because he followed a different version of the story, but because he found it impossible to cram all thirteen into the narrow compass of the relief.

B 59 (807); Plates XXI, XLII

On a pillar, formerly at Batanmāra, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 11). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 58; 138, No. 94, and Pl. XXV and LV; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 155; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 97, No. 221; Barua,

[1] *Ait. Br.* V, 30, 10 f.

[2] *Mbh.* XIII, 93, 1 ff., 94, 1 ff. Cf. Charpentier, *ZDMG.* Vol. LXIV, p. 65 ff., LXVI, p. 44 ff.

Barh. Vol. II, (1934), p. 152 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XC (134); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 159 ff.

TEXT:

mugaphak[iya] j[ā]tak[aṁ][1]

TRANSLATION:

The Jātaka relating to the dumb and paralysed (cripple).

The Jātaka to which the label refers was identified already by Cunningham[2] as the Mūgapakkhajātaka, No. 538 of the Pāli collection, although he could not avail himself of the text. S. von Oldenburg[3] was the first to be able to compare the sculptural and the literary representations of the story. In the Jātaka it is told that the Bodhisattva is born as the much desired only son of the king of Benares, Temiya by name. One day, when he is one month old, they bring him to the king who is sitting in the court of justice. The king fondly embraces his son, places him on his lap and plays with him, while at the same time he passes a sentence of death on four robbers. The Bodhisattva is terrified, and his fear increases, when, recollecting his former births, he remembers that once he has been a king who had to suffer thousands of years in hell for the deeds he had perpetrated in that position. In order to avoid becoming king again, he follows the advice of a goddess to pretend that he is deaf and dumb and unable to move his limbs, and although various means are tried to find out his true mental condition, he succeeds in living as a seeming idiot for sixteen years. At last the king orders his charioteer to carry him on a chariot to the forest and bury him there. When the charioteer is digging the grave, the prince suddenly opens his mouth, revealing his true condition and declaring his resolution to take the ascetic vow. The king, informed by the charioteer of what has happened in the forest, proceeds with a large retinue to the dwelling-place of his son, but his endeavours to lead him back to a worldly life are in vain. On the contrary, the discourses of the young ascetic make such an impression on the king that he also, followed by his wives and the citizens of the town, embraces the religious life.

The sculpture represents three different stages of the story. In the upper left corner the king appears seated cross-legged on a round chair with the young prince on his lap and two attendants behind him. Above this group there is the upper storey of a house with a balcony and a pinnacled roof, supported by two posts, evidently meant for the *sabhā* in which the king is sitting. In the foreground there is the chariot with four horses, from which the prince, who is represented to the right of it, has descended. On his left side the charioteer is seen digging the grave with a hoe[4]. In the right upper corner the prince in the attire of an ascetic, seated cross-legged between two trees, is conversing with the king who, attended by four of his courtiers, stands with folded hands before him.

S. von Oldenburg was of the opinion that the scene could be explained in two ways—the sculpture represents either the king who visits his son, who has become an ascetic, or the prince

[1] The third *akshara* is distinctly *pha* as recognized by Cunningham. The horizontal stroke of the *i*-sign of *ki* is preserved. The fifth *akshara* was read *sa* by Cunningham. Although it is much damaged, it is practically certain that it was *ya*. The *ā*-sign of *jā* and the *anusvāra* of *kaṁ*, though not quite distinct, are very probable.

[2] p. 58.

[3] *JAOS.* XVIII, p. 190 f.

[4] Barua, *Barh.* II, p. 152 has totally misunderstood the representation. According to him the king sits in the chariot with a grown-up boy held up in his hands. In the scene below, Barua explains the prince as the charioteer, and the charioteer, working with a hoe, as a departing ascetic. Anderson, *Cat.* I, p. 118 f., however, has already described everything correctly.

who sees the ascetic in order to become his pupil, as it is narrated in the Tibetan version of the tale. I think the second explanation is out of question. The story in the Kanjur, translated by Schiefner,[1] is a strongly modified version of the Jātaka. For our purpose it is unnecessary to enter into discussion of all the deviations. In any case the characteristic episode of the king's sitting in the court, which is proved by Gāthās 37 and 38 to be an old component of the story, is missing in the Tibetan version. The place of the charioteer who has to kill the prince has been taken by the executioner. This is apparently a secondary alteration, for in opposition to it here also the prince, in a stanza corresponding to G. 3 of the Pāli, puts the question to the charioteer as to why he is digging the grave. In the Tibetan version furthermore the conversation between the king and his son does not take place in the forest to which the prince has retired. The prince, on the contrary, returns from the spot, where he was to be buried, to the king's palace and from there he goes to the forest with the consent of the king, where he leads the life of an ascetic under the guidance of a Ṛishi. As the relief agrees in the first two points exactly with the older version attested by the Gāthās and has nothing in common with the Tibetan narration it is impossible to presume that the artist followed the Tibetan version in the third scene. Also there is not the slightest ground to show why this scene could not be explained in the sense of the Pāli Gāthās. S. von Oldenburg mentions the fact that in the Burmese Temiyajātaka the king visits the prince not in the forest but in a monastery as going against such possibility. But I cannot regard this objection as valid. The Burmese Temiyajātaka,[2] which by the way has been composed only in 1787, is an adaptation of the Pāli Jātaka which generally very closely follows the original. When the author speaks of a monastery instead of an *āśrama* he is probably no more aware of his deviating from his text than when he renders *pabbajati* always ' to become Rahan '. I take it as quite possible or even probable that the original narration of the Jātaka followed by the artist was more simple than the one now handed down to us in the prose. Such features as the construction of the *āśrama* by Vissakamma, the conversion of the king with his family, of all his subjects, and of two other kings may have been added later on[3]. The Gāthās do not contain anything of it, nor, on the other hand, anything which is opposed to the sculptural representation.

In this case, quite exceptionally, the title borne by the Jātaka in the Siṁhalese tradition and by the label is essentially the same. As the reading is distinctly *mugaphakiya*, not *mugapakiya*, it is unnecessary to discuss the absurd explanations given for *mūgapaka*[4]. The Pāli term *mūgapakkha* has a parallel in *mūgapakkhika* in G. 254 of the Nidānakathā, where it is said that the Bodhisattvas are never *mūgapakkhika*. In the Jātaka the compound *mūgapakkha* occurs only in G. 55. In G. 4; 5; 33; 38; 54 *pakkha* is used by the side of *mūga*, which shows that *pakkha* in *mūgapakkhika* cannot represent Sk. *paksha* as suggested in the *PD.*, where *mūgapakkhika* is rendered by ' leading to deafness (sic) ', while Rhys Davids translated it ' classed among the dumb '. In the commentary of the Jātaka (12, 26) *pakkho* is explained by *pīṭhasappī* ' one who crawls with the use of some support ' (lit. chair), which is used also instead of *pakkho* in the prose tale (4, 15). A more accurate explanation of *pakkha* is furnished by G. 33:

nāhaṁ asandhitā pakkho na badhiro asotatā
nāhaṁ ajivhatā mūgo mā maṁ mūgam adhārayi

[1] *Tibetan Tales*, p. 247 ff.
[2] Translated by R. F. St. Andrew St. John, *JRAS.* 1893, p. 357 ff.
[3] The model for these additions was perhaps found in the story of Vissakamma's constructing the Kaviṭṭha-hermitage, told in the Sarabhaṅgajātaka. See Lüders, *Bhārh.*, pp. 112-119, especially p. 114.
[4] 'dumb but ripe' or 'where wisdom ripes in silence', Barua-Sinha *BI.* p. 97; Barua, *Barh.* II, p. 152.

'I am not *pakkha*, because I have no joints; I am not deaf, because I have no ear; I am not dumb, because I have no tongue. Do not think that I am dumb'. It appears that *pakkha* denotes a person who is unable to move, who is paralysed. The term *phaka* (*phakka*) used in the inscription must be a synonym of *pakkha*, and this is confirmed by the *Mvp*. (271, 121), where *phakkaḥ* occurs in a list of bodily defects, preceded by *andhalaḥ*, *jātyandhah*, *kuṇḍaḥ*, and followed by *paṅguḥ* etc. Probably *phakka* is the correct form which was changed into *pakkha* in Pāli under the influence of the common term *pakkhāhata*, 'struck on one side', 'paralysed'.

B 60 (748); Plates XXI, XLIV

Inscription of the middle panel of the middle face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 37, and Pl. XIV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 259, No. 18, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 55, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 55; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 86 f., No. 202; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 117 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXII (112); Lüders, *ZDMG.* Vol. XCIII (1939), p. 100 ff.; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 19 f.

Text:

Kaḍariki

Translation:

Kaḍariki (*Kaṇḍariki*).

Barua and Sinha have identified *Kaḍariki* with the hero of the Kaṇḍarijātaka (341) which afterwards was embodied in the Kuṇālajātaka (536; Vol. V, p. 437 f.). He is a king of Benares who is extraordinarily good looking. Nevertheless his wife falls in love with a hideous cripple. In one of her nightly visits to her lover the queen loses one of her ear-ornaments. The king, who has secretly followed her, picks it up and by this article is able to prove her misdemeanour. He gives order to behead her, but Pañchālachaṇḍa, his wise *purohita*, detains him from acting rashly. He persuades the king to undertake a journey through the whole of India in his company in order to become acquainted with women's ways, and the experiences they gather during their travels are sufficient to convince the king of the innate immorality of womankind, so that after his return he pardons his wife and has her only turned out of the palace. The king of this Jātaka, which is the prototype of the introductory story of the Arabian Nights, is called *Kaṇḍari* in the Atthavaṇṇanā, while the queen appears there under the strange name of *Kinnarā*. Barua and Sinha therefore explained the *Kaḍariki* of the inscription as combined from *Kaḍari* and *Ki*, an abbreviation of *Kinnarā*. I have shown[1] that the name *Kaṇḍari* in the prose tale owes its origin to a wrong division of the words *Kaṇḍarikinnarānaṁ* in G. 21 into *Kaṇḍari* and *Kinnarānaṁ* instead of *Kaṇḍarikin narānaṁ*. The real name of the king therefore was *Kaṇḍariki*, exactly as in the inscription, while the queen was not named at all in the original story. Barua-Sinha's identification is thus established beyond doubt, and it is only surprising that in the relief there is nothing to indicate the somewhat strained relations between the couple. The king and the queen stand side by side to all appearance in perfect harmony, the queen having put her right hand on the shoulder of her husband. The question as to what the two persons hold in their hands has not been solved. Anderson (*Cat.* I, p. 69) mentions that the woman in her left hand carries a bird that has lost its head, while the man holds in

[1] *ZDMG.* XCIII, p. 101 ff.

his left hand a flower-spike and in the right hand, which hangs by his side, a small round object. Barua (*Barh.* II, p. 117) maintains that the bird in the hand of the woman is a pigeon or a dove and that the man does not hold a flower but a hawk on his breast. He points out that according to the *Divy.* p. 300 the pigeon is the symbol of *rāga* and further asks whether the attributes should not mean that the king like a hawk swooped down upon the turtle-heart of the queen given away to another man. The pictures accessible to me do not allow to judge the value of the different interpretations. The hawk in Barua's explanation may owe its existence more to the wish for an ingenious comment than to the observation of what is really represented. Perhaps the object in the king's hand, interpreted as hawk, is the lost ear-ornament of the queen which as corpus delicti plays such an important part in the story. If Barua is right that the queen has only one ear-decoration—it is not to be verified from the pictures—it would show that the artist represents the loss of one ear-ring in exact comformity with the Jātaka text.

B 61 (749); Plates XXI, XLIV

Inscription on the lowest panel of the middle face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 134, No. 38, and Pl. XV and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 26 f., No. 21, with an additional remark by Beal, *ibid.* p. 146; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 66, No. 56, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 231, No. 56; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 89 f., No. 209; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 132 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXII (123); Lüders, *ZDMG.* Vol. XCIII (1939), p. 98 ff.; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 19 f.

Text:

1 Vijapi[1]
2 vijadharo

Translation:

The Vidyādhara Vijapi (*Vijalpin* ?)

The panel shows the figures of a man and a woman, both well-dressed. The man is standing and engaged in winding (or unwinding) his turban. The female figure on his right is seated on a stone and holding some flowers in her raised right hand. The background is filled with rocks, and in the right corner there is a strange object lying before a tree. It is of oblong shape, placed aslant, with a head-piece in the centre flanked on each side by a smaller protuberance. It seems to be wrapped up crosswise with cords, just as another oblong object of smaller size, which is half covered by the larger one. Barua and Sinha have identified the two persons of the relief with the Vidyādhara and the wife of the Dānava who are the chief actors in the Samuggajātaka (436)[2]. The Jātaka is the oldest version of a tale that has found its way into the introductory story of the Arabian Nights. A Dānava has captured a beautiful girl and has made her his wife. In order to keep her safe, he puts her in a box which he swallows. One day he wishes to take a bath. He goes to a tank, throws up the box and lets the girl bathe first. He then bids her to enjoy the open air and himself walks off to the tank. At this moment a Vidyādhara comes flying through the air. The woman invites him by signs to descend and places him in the box, into which she slips

[1] This is the reading of Hultzsch. Cunningham read *vajapi*, Hoernle *vijaṭi*. The first *akshara* is clearly *vi*, the second almost certainly *ja*, although the form of the letter differs from the *ja* of the second line. The third *akshara* can be read only *pi*. The word is engraved by another hand than *vijadharo*.

[2] Beal's identification of the two figures with Sumedha and his wife is out of question.

herself when the Dānava returns. The demon swallows the box again without examining it, and it is only by an ascetic gifted with supernatural sight that he is informed of what has happened. He throws up the box, and as soon as he has opened it, the Vidyādhara muttering a spell flies up into the air. According to the Atthavaṇṇanā the faithless wife is turned away by the Dānava.

I think that Barua-Sinha's identification may be accepted. In that case the strange object mentioned above may be suitably explained as being an attempt to represent the box opened with its lid lying in front of it. Barua's suggestion that it represents the armour and dagger of the Vidyādhara is not convincing. The rocky landscape also would be appropriate to the situation. Perhaps the sculptor has represented the Vidyādhara as arranging his dress before entering the box. Barua-Sinha's explanation gains in probability if we remember that the upper panel shows a couple, the female partner of which is regarded as the type of an adulterous wife. It would therefore seem to be quite likely that the sculptor should have chosen a similar couple also for the lower panel.

The meaning of *vijapi* remains doubtful. Hoernle's reading *vijaṭi* is impossible, and even if *vijapi* were taken as a clerical error for *vijaṭi*, the meaning of the word would not become much clearer, as *vijaṭi* cannot easily be explained as a derivation from *vijaṭayati* in the sense of 'unravelling' or 'unwinding the head-dress'. Hultzsch took *Vijapi* as the name of the Vidyādhara which he traced back to Sk. *Vijayin*, but there are considerable phonetic difficulties implied in this derivation. In my article in the *ZDMG.* I have discussed Sk. *Vidyāvin*, *Vidyāvid* or even *Vidyājalpin* as possible Sanskrit equivalents of the name, but the most probable original form would seem to be *Vijalpin*, which would have a parallel in *Vijalpā*, the name of a malignant spirit mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 51, 50 ff. However, it cannot be denied that none of these explanations of *vijapi* is quite satisfactory and convincing.

B 62 (881)[1]; Plates XXI, XLIII

On a rail-bar, since 1959 in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. The inscription is incised above No. A 104. First edited by Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 142, No. 66, and Pl. XXXIV and LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 76, No. 156; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 159; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 61, No. 165; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), pp. 73-79.

[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription (B 62) has been lost. But we find a detailed note by him on the story of Timitimiṅgila in his book *Bhārh.* l.c., of which the text below is an English translation. Lüders begins stating, that the original of the medallion depicted in Cunningham's book Pl. XXXIV,2 was lying buried under the walls of the palace at Uchahara. Cunningham had excavated it for a short while and took its impression from which was prepared the sketch published by him. Of the inscription, which it bore, only Cunningham's eye-copy was available up to 1959 when the stone was recovered. An inked impression received in September 1959 from Rai Krishnadasji, Curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, is read by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, in an article prepared for *EI.*, Vol. XXXIII (1959/60), as follows: *timitimi[ṁ]gilakuchhimhā [Vas]u[g]ut[o] m[o]chito Mah[ā]-dev[e]naṃ.* Regarding the eye-copy Dr. Sircar says, that it "is defective since the mark between the aksharas *ti* and *mi*, represented in it as a clear *ra*, does not appear to be a letter at all on the impression. It is too close to *mi* considering the space between any two other letters of the record. We have also to note that the said vertical mark actually continues beyond the proper upper end of the supposed *ra*. The mark is again not as deep as the incision of the letters of the record.....The last word was read as *Mahadevānaṁ* on the basis of the same eye-copy and the genitive plural in it was regarded by Cunningham as used in the instrumental sense. Hultzsch regarded °*devānaṁ* as a mistake for °*devena*. There is, however, no *ā-mātrā* attached to *v* in the word. On the other hand it exhibits a damaged *e-mātrā*." Dr. Sircar is also of the opinion that the anusvāra-like mark with *na* in *Mahādevanaṃ* might be due to a flaw in the stone. The reading of Dr. Sircar is in complete conformity with the reconstruction given by Lüders.

TEXT:

tiramitimigilakuchhimha Vasuguto māchito Mahadevānaṁ

(timitimiṁgilakuchchhimhā Vasugutto mochito Mahādevena)

TRANSLATION:

Vasuguta (*Vasugupta*) rescued by Mahādeva from the belly of the sea-monster (*timitimiṁgila*).

Chavannes[1] identified the scene represented with a story in the Tsa-p'i-yu-king. Foucher[2] showed the story also to be in the Divyāvadāna and the Mahāvastu and it appears, as Barua and Sinha[3] have noted, as well in Kshemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.

The Chinese version is the shortest and the most simple. Five hundred merchants start on a sea-voyage. The ship comes near a giant fish which swallows the waves together with all living animals contained in them. With an irresistible force the ship also is drawn into the throat of the gigantic fish. In vain the merchants pray to the different gods, whom they worship. Then the captain of the boat (*sa-po=sārthavāha*) says to them that he knows of a great god called Buddha. They should pray to him in place of other gods. Thereupon all the merchants together shout '*namo Buddhāya*'. In this way the fish learns that a Buddha has again appeared in the world. It realizes that it would be improper to do any harm to the living beings. It therefore shuts the mouth so that the water begins to flow back and the ship is saved. The fish really has been a monk in its former birth. The name of the Buddha reminds it of its former existence and this led it to the decision to spare the life of the beings.

In the *Divy.* the story forms an introduction to the Dharmaruchyavadāna (228, 21 ff.). The monk Dharmaruchi was a giant fish in his former birth. The story points in essence to only one variation. Here the Buddha himself joins in the action to some extent. As the merchants, on the advice of some *upāsaka*, shout '*namo Buddhāya*', the Buddha, who stays in the Jetavana, hears the call with his divine ear and arranges that the giant fish, Timiṅgila or Timitimiṅgila, also hears it. The reference to Timiṅgila's formerly being a monk is missing in the story itself. But in the second part of the Avadāna, where the different former existences of Dharmaruchi are narrated in details, it is described that he was a monk in the time of the Buddha Dīpaṁkara as well as in the time of the Buddha Krakuchchhanda. And at the end of this story it is mentioned of him that on hearing the word Buddha in later times he would remember his former births.

It is unnecessary to narrate in detail the story in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, because the Dharmaruchyavadāna (No. 89) is only a metrical version of the Avadāna in the *Divy.*, having the same title and keeping close to the original.

In the *Mvu.* (I, 244, 19 ff.) the story of the giant fish is likewise connected with the Dharmaruchi legend, but it shows a few peculiar features. The head of the five hundred merchants here bears the name Thapakarṇi or Sthapakarṇika[4]. At the moment when the merchants call the different gods, the venerable Pūrṇaka observes it. He flies up from the Tuṇḍaturika mountain and appears in the air above the ship. The merchants cry: 'Bhagavan, Bhagavan, we take refuge with you'! But the Sthavira answers them that

[1] *Contes* I, p. XII, II, p. 51 ff.
[2] *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, T. III, p. 8.
[3] *BI.* p. 61 f.
[4] Variations *Thapakarṇika*, *Sthāpakarṇika*, *Sthapakaṇḍika*.

he is not the Bhagavat, but only a *śrāvaka*. They all should cry with one voice '*namo Buddhasya* !' They do it. When Timitimiṅgila hears the name of the Buddha it remembers that at a time, lying indefinitely back, when it was the brahmin Meghadatta, it had heard of Buddha Dīpaṁkara from his friend Megha[1]. The further continuation of the story is the same as in the other versions. When the gigantic fish starves itself to death, it is reborn as Dharmaruchi.

The version of the *Mvu.* is influenced, as already observed by Senart, by a similar story known from the Pūrṇāvadāna in the *Divy.* (24, 9 ff.). The rich merchant Bhava in Śūrpāraka has four sons Bhavila, Bhavatrāta, Bhavanandin and Pūrṇa. The first three, born of a wife of equal rank, are fond of adorning themselves richly. When the father reproaches them for their extravagance, they do away with the jewels they wear as ear-decoration, and put on in succession an ear-decoration made of wood, of *stava*[2], and tin, with the vow not to wear again the ear-decoration of precious stones as long as they have not earned 100,000 pieces of gold. Since that time they are called Dārukarṇin, Stavakarṇin and Trapukarṇin. Pūrṇa, born of a slave girl married by the merchant, remains a bachelor, enters the Buddhist order, and lives as a monk in the country of the Śroṇāparāntakas. Later on Dārukarṇin goes on an expedition with a party of other merchants in order to bring the Gośīrsha-sandalwood. The Yaksha Maheśvara, to whom the forest of sandal trees belongs, raises a storm. The merchants in their distress appeal to all the gods. Dārukarṇin alone does not take part in the general excitement. When asked he explains to his companions that he is remembering with repentance his brother Pūrṇa, who had warned him against the sea-voyage. On hearing this, the merchants shout with one voice: 'Adoration to the venerable Pūrṇa'! A goddess informs Pūrṇa that his brother is remembering him in distress. Pūrṇa meditates and appears sitting crosslegged in the air above the ship. The storm ends. Maheśvara asks Pūrṇa about the explanation of the miracle, and when he is informed in the course of the conversation that a Buddha has appeared in the world he keeps quiet. The merchants are able to return home to Śūrpāraka with their load of sandal. There Pūrṇa builds the palace of sandalwood, called the Chandanamāla, for the Buddha. Furthermore it is narrated how the Buddha, journeying through the air, visits Śūrpāraka and is received solemnly in that palace by the king and his four brothers. Aśvaghosha must have known a version of the Avadāna in which Stavakarṇin, and not Dārukarṇin, was mentioned as the head of the merchants, and also he, and not Pūrṇa, as the one responsible for the building of the palace of sandalwood. In the Buddhacharita 21, 22 f. it is said in the list of the conversions by the Buddha, according to Johnston's translation: "Then He went by His magic powers to the city of Śūrpāraka and in due course instructed the merchant Stavakarṇin[3], who, on being instructed, became so faithful that he started to build for the Best of seers a sandalwood Vihāra, which was ever odorous and touched the sky". From this version of the Pūrṇāvadāna obviously is taken the name Thapakarṇi or Sthapakarṇika, as well as the intervention of Pūrṇaka in the story of Timitimiṅgila of the *Mvu.*

In the medallion one sees the giant fish into whose throat the ship occupied by three persons is sliding in. Other fish, shown with their heads down, suggest that the whirlpool is attracting the ship. Above, the ship[4] appears a second time, as it is bound homewards

[1] In the *Divy.*, Meghadatta appears with the name Mati, Megha with the name Sumati.

[2] The meaning of *stava* is not known. Burnouf may be right when he translates it as 'lac'.

[3] According to Johnston, *AO.* XV, p. 291: Tib. *sna stod*, apparently error for *rna stod*.

[4] The artist, however, depicted only one boat. What Foucher, p. 43, would like to explain as ropes with rings for keeping the boat in the state of balance are surely, as Cunningham has already remarked, p. 124, rudders. It is doubtful whether the details in the sketch are exactly reproduced.

in safety. So far the depiction agrees with the literary tradition. But the inscription near it shows that a new version of the legend is intended here. Cunningham (p. 142) read it—*Tiranuti Migila Kuchimha Vasu Guto Machito Mahadevanam.* According to his eye-copy on Pl. LVI, it reads—*tirami timigilakuchhimha Vasuguto māchito Mahadevānaṁ.* Hultzsch[1] restored it to — *tīramhi timiṁgilakuchhimhā Vasuguto mocito Mahādevena*—" Vasuguta (*Vasugupta*) rescued to the shore by Mahādeva from the belly of the sea-monster ". I do not believe that the restoration of *tirami* to *tīramhi* is correct. As the encounter with the giant fish takes place in the high sea, far from the shore, it cannot properly be spoken of as a rescue ' to the shore '. Besides it seems doubtful to me whether the locative *tīramhi* could be used in connection with *mochito* in the accepted sense. Further on the locative of the *–a* stem in the language of the inscriptions does not elsewhere show the pronominal ending, but always ends in *–e*: *raje* A 1, *susāne* B 64, *Abode* B 69, *Naḍode* B 70, *Naḍode pavate* B 73, B 74, *Naḍodapāde* B 76, *Himavate* B 79. I am therefore convinced that Cunningham in his eye-copy has not overlooked the '*h*', inscribed below in ' *mhi* ', but that he erroneously took some stroke behind the first *ti* as standing for the akshara *ra*. I am also convinced that in the beginning of the inscription we have to read *timitimiṁgilakuchhimhā*[2].

Whatsoever we may think about it, the hero of the story in this version is in any case called Vasugupta, and the saviour from the calamity is named Mahādeva. In the first instance one may suppose that Mahādeva is the name of some personality corresponding to Pūrṇaka in the version of the *Mvu.* But the Mahādeva mentioned here is clearly the same person, who in a different inscription (B 81) to which we have to refer later on, receives the attribute ' *bhagavat* '. Thus it must be the name of the Buddha[3]. The designation of Buddha as ' the great god ' does not occur, as far as I know, elsewhere in the Buddhist literature. The *Mvp.* 1, 16, only gives ' *devātideva* ' which appears for instance in the *Divy.* 391, 4. In our inscription Mahādeva is chosen perhaps under the influence of the text which the sculptor was going to follow. In any case, as already mentioned, the expression is used in the Chinese version of the story in order to show the Buddha's foremost rank at the head of the other gods. When the merchants appeal to the other gods in vain, the *sārthavāha* (in Chavannes' translation) says: ' I know one great god who is called Buddha '.

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[1] *ZDMG.* XL, p. 76.

[2] Probably in the inscription the long vowels and the *anusvāra* have not been written. It might also be possible that the last word was *Mahādevanāmena.*

[3] Hultzsch rightly remarks: " Mahadeva probably refers to the Mahāsatta or Bodhisatta ".

5. B 63-67 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO JĀTAKA - OR AVADĀNA-SCENES NOT YET IDENTIFIED[1]

B 63 (692)[2]; Plates XXI, XLII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 97; 130, No. 3, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 120, No. 6; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 60, No. 4, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 4; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 84, No. 198; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 108 f. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXVIII (104); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 3.

Text:

Dighatapasi sise anusāsati

Translation:

Dighatapasi (*Dīrghatapasvin*) instructs his pupils[3].

The relief is a vivid representation of the contents of the inscription. On a raised platform to the left an ascetic is seen sitting cross-legged. He no doubt is the teacher Dighatapasi of the inscription and his upraised right hand shows that he is just instructing his pupils sitting before him on the ground, four of whom are represented to the right side of the relief. The presence of a tree in the back-ground shows that the preaching is going on in the open air. Underneath the tree a pot and some other utensil, probably belonging to the ascetic, are to be seen. The teacher is characterized as an ascetic by the abundant matted hair fastened in a knot. Similarly the four pupils do not wear a turban as the other worldly men normally do, but have their long hair rolled into a knot. Only one pupil who is to be seen from behind in the middle of the relief lets his hair fall loose on his back[4]. This fact induced Barua to infer that this pupil is a female one, whereas in the opinion of Cunningham all the four pupils are females. Cunningham was led to this opinion by his reading *isise* in the inscription which he interpreted as ' female Rishis '. We do not see any necessity to believe that any one of the four pupils is a female one, and the form *sise* (acc. pl. masc.) makes it probable that all of them are male ones.

Cunningham already took Dighatapasi as a proper name and identified the ascetic with Dīghatapassī, a Nigaṇṭha and follower of Nātaputta, mentioned in the Upālisutta (56) of the *M.* (I. 371 ff.). The sutta tells that Dīghatapassī once visited the Buddha at Nālandā, and had a discussion with him. He gave a report of this to Nātaputta which resulted into a discussion between the Buddha and Upāli and the subsequent conversion of the latter. There is no connection between this story and the representation in the relief. So Barua rejected to see in the ascetic the Jaina recluse Dīghatapassī and translated the inscription ' The venerable ascetic instructs his pupils' taking *Dighatapasi* as an epithet instead of a proper

[1] The fragmentary inscription No. B 81 probably also belongs to this group.
[2] Lüders' treatment of this inscription (B 63) has not been recovered.
[3] This is the translation of the inscription by Lüders in his *List.*
[4] Barua says that the three pupils to the right hold ' two small stick-like things' in their hands. This can only be said of one of them who is depicted the lowest of the three; the two others do not seem to hold sticks. The middle one has his right hand and fore-finger raised, as if he is pointing out something and the third one is talking to the ascetic emphasizing his words with both of his uplifted hands.

name[1]. It seems, however, unbelievable that *dīgha* can mean 'venerable', and it is more probable that the explanation in *MA.* III, 52 is correct where it is said '*Dīghatapassī ti dīghattā evaṁ laddhanāmo*', that Dīghatapassī received his name on account of his long stature. Lüders takes the word as a proper name in his *List* and further asserts in *Bhārh.* p. 3, n. 4, that *Dighatapasi* cannot mean 'the venerable ascetic' but is apparently a proper name.

B 64 (697); Plates XXI, XLVI

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 23). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 96; 130, No. 8, and Pl. XLVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 9, and Pl. ; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No.9; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 83, No. 195; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 97 f. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXV (97); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 3.

Text:

Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigālañati.

Translation:

The young woman Asaḍā (*Ashāḍhā*). The announcement to the jackals on the burial-ground.

The sculpture shows a woman seated on a tree to which she clings with both hands. She is evidently addressing three jackals sitting below under another tree. In the foreground a man is lying either sleeping or dead, but as according to the inscription the scene is a burial-ground, he is probably meant for a corpse.

Cunningham's suggestion that the sculpture refers to the story of the origin of the Koḷiyas as told in *SnA.*, p. 354 ff., cannot be accepted. The scene of that story is not a burial-ground, but a forest. The name of the leprous princess is not Asāḷhā, but Piyā, and she does not live on a tree, but in a pit. The man lying on the ground cannot be king Rāma, who does not appear in that situation in the story, and there are no jackals connected with the legend. Barua-Sinha think that the label may perhaps be taken to refer to a scene of a Jātaka-episode similar to one of the Asilakkhaṇajātaka (No. 126). It is unnecessary to enter into the details of that Jātaka, as the similarity is very small. The scene of the Jātaka story, it is true, is a burial-ground, but neither the sitting of the woman on the tree nor the presence of the jackals agrees with it.

As long as the story represented in the relief has not been identified, the meaning of the last two words of the inscription cannot be established with certainty. As *ñati* can hardly be a verbal expression, the words seem to form a compound. Hultzsch was inclined to take *sigālañati* as a clerical error for *sigāle ñati*=Sk. *śṛigālāñ jñātrī*, 'who has observed the jackals'. But this is extremely improbable, since the term *sigāle ñati* could only mean 'the habitual observer of the jackals', which, of course, is out of question. Barua-Sinha translate: 'The woman Āshāḍhā, the jackals in a funeral ground, (her) kinsmen', taking *ñati* as the equivalent of Sk. *jñāti*. I agree with Barua-Sinha in dividing the label into two parts, which is supported by the fact that *Asaḍā vadhu* is separated by a blank from the rest of the inscription, but I would prefer to derive *ñati* from Sk. *jñapti* and to refer *sigālañati* to some announcement made by the woman to the jackals[2].

[1] Barua gives the choice to identify the representation either with the Mūlapariyāyajātaka (245) or the Tittirajātaka (438) 'both giving an account of a far-famed asectic teacher instructing his pupils'. These identifications are too vague to be convincing. See above Introduction p. X.

[2] It seems very probable that the woman sitting on the tree makes an appeal on behalf of the man lying on the ground (sleeping or wounded?) to the jackals looking up at her.

Asaḍā is Sk. *Ashāḍhā*, with the usual inaccurate spelling of *ḍ* instead of *ḍh*, and an abbreviation of some name such as *Asāḷhamittā*. The name belongs to the large class of personal names the first part of which is formed by the name of an asterism; why it should be taken to mean ' the buxom ', as suggested by Barua-Sinha, I am unable to see.

B 65 (702); Plates XXI, XLV

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 114). Edited by Cunningham, *PASB.* 1874, p. 112; Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 93 f.; 131, No. 13, and Pl. LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 13, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 13; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 58 f.; 101, No. 160; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 99 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXV (98 and 98 a); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 6.

Text:

jaṭilasabhā

Translation:

The assembly of the Jaṭilas (ascetics wearing matted hair).

The sculpture to which the label belongs is a fragment. It shows on the left a tree among wells, on the right a recess with a short-haired man of whom only half of the head and upper part of the body is preserved. Cunningham's identification of the sculpture with the conversion of Uruvelā Kassapa and his two brothers is very improbable. Barua has tried to complete the fragment by the photograph of a lost fragment which bears the figure of an elephant[1], and in his search for a suitable subject of the sculpture he has hit on the Indasamānagottajātaka (No. 161) or the Mittāmittajātaka (No. 197) both of which contain the story of a *tāpasa* who was killed by his pet elephant. But this identification cannot be accepted as a glance at the figure 98a on plate LXXV in Barua's book will be sufficient to show that the two fragments do not go together.

B 66 (788); Plates XXII, XLIV

On the right outer face of the same pillar as No. B 55, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 28). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 76, and Pl. XIX and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 70, No. 87, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 234, No. 87; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 56, No. 157; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 23 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XXII (17d) and XLIII (41); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 7.

Text:

Bramhadevo mānavako

Translation:

The young Brahmin Bramhadeva (*Brahmadeva*).

The story represented in the sculpture is not known. The preserved portion of the relief is divided into three compartments. In the upper compartment there is a large building surrounded by a railing. In the windows and the arched recesses behind the balcony of the upper storey the faces of a number of women are visible. From the gateway in the left

[1] According to Barua there are visible at the feet of the elephant some burning fire altars. I am not able to recognize anything of it in the photographic reproduction.

corner issues a man mounted on an elephant. On the right four well-dressed men are standing in a line. The foremost figure of the four holds a small object in his left hand, while his right hand is uplifted. As the man on the elephant also has his right hand raised, they are apparently talking together. The three men on the left of the speaker seem to bring presents, each holding a tray, the first filled with small round objects, perhaps pearls, the second with square coins, and the third with necklaces.

In the middle compartment the four men appear again in a line, but this time mounted on elephants decorated with bells hanging down before their foreheads. The first in the row from the right is holding up a tray with coins, while the third, who seems to be the most prominent person, is distinguished by a parasol and a *chaurī* carried by an attendant whose head is visible in the background. Before the line of elephants another elephant is kneeling. He is held down with the *aṅkuśa* by a man of whom only the head is seen, the body being hidden behind a tree which belongs to the lower scene. This is evidently the same man who in the first scene is riding on the elephant, and from the label it appears that he is the young Brahmin Bramhadeva.

In the lower compartment, of which only the upper portion is preserved, Bramhadeva is seen once more kneeling before a throne placed under a tree and surmounted by a parasol with pendants hanging down on both sides, while behind him the four men are standing again in a line with their hands joined in devotion. Anderson[1] states that the tree is the Bodhi tree of the historical Buddha, but I doubt very much that this is correct, as it does not show distinctly the characteristically pointed leaves of the Ficus religiosa.

Of the rest of the sculpture only the head of a person is still visible below the throne. Whether it belongs to the scene above or to another scene in continuation of the story in the lost portion of the sculpture cannot be made out.

Barua and Sinha translated the label ' the young [Rūpa-]Brahma deity Subrahmā', for which later on Barua substituted ' the youthful Rūpa-brahma deity'. Barua is of opinion that the relief illustrates the concluding part of Siddhārtha's battle with Māra, the congratulations of the Brahmakāyika deities, with Subrahmā at the head[2]. This interpretation would hardly convince anybody, even if it were not based on the palpably wrong translation of the inscription.

B 67 (710); Plates XXII, XLV

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 98). Edited by Beal, *Academy* Vol. VI (1874), p. 612 (comp. Fergusson, *ibid.* p. 637, note); Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 94 f.; 131, No. 21, and Pl. XLV and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 119, No. 3; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 63, No. 21, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, No. 21; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 82 f., No. 194; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 95 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXIII (96); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 88 f.

Text:

chitupādasila

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[1] *Cat.*, Part I, p. 58.

[2] A similar explanation has been given even before Barua by Coomaraswamy. In *JRAS.* 1928, p. 391 Coomaraswamy reads the inscription *Bra(h)ma deva mānavako* and translates it 'the youthful Brahmā (entreats the Buddha to teach) '. He remarks further on ' Brahmā is distinguished by his long coiled locks and absence of a turban; as described in the *Lalitav.*, where he is designated Śikhī Mahābrahmā '. The story how Śikhin asked Buddha to teach the law is found in *Lalitav.* 393, 20 ff. But I do not see that anything has been said there about his physical appearance, and the attribute *māṇavaka*, which is totally out of place for a Mahābrahman, has not been given to him.

TRANSLATION:

The rock of miracles and portents (or miraculous portents).

The meaning of the inscription can hardly be definitely established as long as the subject of the relief has not been identified. The sculpture represents a game in which on either side two persons take part. A gaming-board containing 36 squares is drawn on the flat surface of a rock, which splits into two, engulfing the two men on the right and perhaps also the tree under which they are sitting. Of the two men on the left, one is raising his right hand which indicates that he is speaking, while the other is seated crosslegged. Before him lies a small square object which looks like a punch-marked coin, but may be a stone used for the game. Six similar pieces are lying to his left. In the background there is a square block ornamented with three-forked symbols.

Regarding the text of the inscription, Hoernle is in doubt whether *sila* stands for *silā* (Sk. *śilā*) or for *sīlaṁ* (Sk. *śīlam*). The scuplture leaves little doubt that it is the word for rock (*śilā*); this has been assumed by Hultzsch. Hoernle's suggestion to refer *chitupāda* to the gaming board and to explain it either as *chatushpāda* or *chitrapāda* certainly misses the mark. The mistakes of the sculptor which Hoernle has to assume are quite improbable and I do not understand how far these two expressions could suitably designate the gaming board. *Chittuppāda* literally ' arising out of a thought ', ' wish ', ' intention ' is a word used often in Pāli; in connection with *silā*, however, it does not yield any meaning. But *uppāda* is in Pāli also a normal representative of Sk. *utpāta*[1] ' abnormal phenomenon ' and thus it is most probable that *chitupādasila* represents Sk. *chitrotpātaśilā*. ' A rock of wonders and of abnormal phenomena ' or ' a rock where miracles and portents happen ' would seem to be quite an appropriate name for a rock which suddenly splits[2]. The strange block with three-forked symbols has its counterparts in the sculptures described under Nos. B 73 and B 74 which represent scenes on mount Naḍoda. It is therefore not unlikely that the gambling scene also has to be localized on that mountain very rich in miracles. This suggestion is however uncertain as long as the story has not been found in literature. Certainly the relief does not illustrate the Littaj. (91) as Barua thinks. There is not the slightest similarity between the Jātaka and the sculpture, and that the label cannot be translated as ' the gambler fond of the square-board game ' needs scarcely be mentioned.

[1] Usually it appears in connection with *supina* and *lakkhaṇa*; *D.* I, 9, 4; *Sn.* 360; *J.* 87, 1; 546, 216; *Mil.* 178.

[2] This explanation is already given by Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 229, note 25, where he translates: " *Chitrā utpātā yatra sā śilā*, ' the rock where miraculous portents happen ' ". He further remarks: " The Pāli *uppāda* represents both *utpāda* and *utpāta* ".

6. B 68 - 69 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CHAITYAS

B 68 (699); Plates XXII, XLVII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 29). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 94; 131, No. 10, and Pl. XLIII, 4 and LIII; Hoernle *IA.* Vol. X, (1881), p. 118 f., No. 1; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 11, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 11; Barua, *PASB.* New Ser. Vol. XIX (1924), pp. 350-352, and Pl. XV, 2; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 85 f., No. 200; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 113 f., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXX (108); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 21 ff.

Text:

migasamadakaṁ chetaya[1]

Translation:

The Chaitya where the animals of the forest hold their siesta.

The name of the *chaitya* is not known from other sources and as both *miga* and *samadaka* are ambiguous terms, the label has to be interpreted from the sculpture to which it is attached. Unfortunately the scene represented in the panel is not perfectly clear. The centre of the relief is formed by a tree with a stone seat in front of it. Six antelopes, three males and three females, are lying around it. They seem to be black bucks (Antelope cervicapra), though the horns are rather short. On the proper right side two wild animals are visible, the one facing the spectator, the other turned to the right and characterized by a mane as a lion. The antelope in the foreground is lying with its head resting on the ground. Hoernle therefore was of the opinion that the sculptor wanted to represent the antelope as having been crushed under the platform of the *chaitya* and, following a suggestion of Tawney, translated the inscription 'the deer-crushing chaitya' (*mṛigasaṁmardakaṁ chaityam*). An antelope in exactly the same attitude as in our relief is found in the relief on Cunningham's Plate XLIII, 8, and there it is undoubtedly a dead animal bewailed by the ascetic as told in the Migapotakajātaka (No. 372). Nevertheless I think it more probable that in our relief the antelope is simply meant as sleeping, no stones being visible to indicate that it was killed by them, and as the presence of the two lions also is left unaccounted for by Hoernle's interpretation, it does not carry conviction.

Cunningham translated the inscription[2] 'Deer and Lions eating together Chetiya', and the derivation of *samadaka* from *sam-ad* is accepted also by Barua-Sinha who offer quite a number of optional renderings such as 'the chaitya on an animal feeding-ground', or 'on a grazing ground of the deer', or 'where the deer are devoured', etc. But the antelopes in the relief neither graze nor are they being devoured, and in my opinion it is extremely unlikely that *samadaka* should have any connection with the root *ad*; nor can I follow Barua, when he asserts that the sculpture refers to the Vyagghajātaka (No. 272). There it is related how a forest is infested by tigers or, as the commentator erroneously says, by a lion and a tiger. They kill animals of all kinds and for fear of them nobody dares enter the forest.

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[1] Read *chetiyaṁ*.

[2] He read *samadika* or *samādaka*.

When the stench of the carcasses, left by them on the spot, becomes intolerable, a foolish tree-spirit, without heeding the warnings of another tree-spirit, drives the wild animals away, but only with the result that the villagers, no longer kept back by the fear of the tigers, come and hew down the trees and till the land. In vain the tree-spirit tries to bring back the tigers. I fail to see the slightest resemblance between this story and the scene of our relief where nothing of the tree-deities is to be seen and where certainly the antelopes are not represented as being frightened or even killed by the lions.

Hultzsch took *migasamadaka* as *migasaṁmadaka* and rendered it by ' the chaitya which gladdens the antelopes '. Hultzsch's derivation of *samadaka* is probably correct, but I think that the meaning of the word has to be modified a little. In Pāli *bhattasammada* is a common term denoting ' after-dinner nap, siesta '[1]. *Migasammada* then would mean either ' the siesta of the antelopes' or ' the siesta of the wild animals ' and there would be no difficulty in explaining the name of the *chaitya* as being formed by adding the suffix *–ka* to *sammada.* The siesta of the antelopes would seem to be well illustrated by the sculpture. But peace and quietness apparently prevails also between the antelopes and the lions of the relief, and so we may assume that the term *miga* is used here in the wider sense and that the *chaitya* owed its name to the miraculous event that all animals of the forest held there their siesta without doing harm to one another[2].

B 69 (693);[3] Plates XXII, XLII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 94; 130, No. 4, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 120, No. 7; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 5, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 5; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 90 f., No. 210; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* (1927), No. 30, p. 5, and Pl. I; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 133 ff. and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXIV (124a).; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 23 ff.

Text:

Abode chātiyaṁ

Translation:

The Chaitya on the A(ṁ)boda (the mango-mountain).

The relief shows a tree which, judging from the leaves, can be a mango tree. It has a stone seat in front of it. Some rocks in the right corner from which a brook flows down suggest that the place of the scene is on a mountain. Two elephants are approaching the stone seat, the bigger one of the animals bears a bundle of lotus fibres in its trunk, apparently intending to deposit it on or before the stone seat. The smaller animal sprays itself with water from the brook. Because in the relief treated under B 68 the tree with a stone seat is called *chetaya* (for *chetiya*) it can be taken as absolutely certain that *chātiyaṁ* here is a scribe's

[1] See *D.* II, 195; *S.* I, 7; *J.* VI, 57; II, 63,14.

[2] A very similar representation is found in the relief on Cunningham's Pl. XLIV, 8. Here six stags (Rusa axis), three of them male and three female, lie or stand round the tree with a stone seat underneath it. But here the lions are missing. The wish to identify the sculptures as Jātakas at all costs led Barua to see in the latter relief a representation of the Tipallatthamigajātaka (16). Apart from the unacceptable interpretation of the particulars, the identification with the Jātaka is quite impossible on account of the fact that the *chaitya* figuring in the centre of the picture remains altogether unexplained.

[3] Lüders' treatment of this inscription (B 69) is missing in the manuscript. What follows below is based on his remarks l.c., pp. 23-25.

mistake for *chetiyaṁ*. The explanation of *chātiyaṁ* as loc. sg. of P. *chāṭi* ' pot, vessel ' given by Barua and Sinha is linguistically impossible, apart from the fact that in the relief no vessel of any kind is represented. Likewise I cannot agree with Barua-Sinha's identification of the relief with the Mātiposakaj. (455). In the Jātaka it is narrated that the Bodhisattva was once reborn as an elephant. He was captured to serve the king of Kāsī as state elephant, but was released by the same king when the latter heard that the elephant had to nourish his blind mother left behind in the forest. When the Bodhisattva had returned to his mother he sprinkled her with water from a lotus pond. Now we find in the relief indeed two elephants and also a brook which could perhaps take the place of the lotus pond; but it is not depicted how the one elephant besprinkles the other. This besprinkling is an essential part of the story. It is not only to be seen from the fact that it is expressly mentioned in the Gāthās; it has also led to a further development of the legend. The *Mvu.* where the Jātaka occurs (Vol. III, p. 130 ff.) and the Fo-pên-hing-tsi-king (Beal, *Rom. Leg.*, p. 366 ff.) narrate that the elephant's mother regained her eye-sight by the besprinkling, in the same way as the blind Mahāprajāpati regained the power to see when the water at the *mahāprātihārya* in Kapilavastu streamed down on her. Besides it is expressly stated in G. 4 ff. of the Jātaka that the noble elephant lived with his mother on the mountain Chaṇḍoraṇa. In the prose narration is added that, after the death of his mother, he went into the hermitage Karaṇḍaka. There the king erected a stone image of the elephant, and men from all India used to assemble at the spot every year to celebrate the festival of the elephant. In the *Mvu.* the mountain on which the elephant and his mother stayed is called Chaṇḍagiri, a hill in front of the Himavat. These particulars are not in conformity with the inscription which says that the Chaitya was on the *Aboda*. Hoernle[1] took *Aboda* as equivalent of Sk. *Arbuda*, the old name of the famous mountain Ābū, but it is not probable that the *u* in Arbuda should have become *o*. On the other hand the landscape represented shows decisively that Aboda is the name of a mountain. This is confirmed by the form of the name. No less than six times in the Bhārhut inscriptions the name Naḍoda is found, twice with the addition *pavata*, and a mountain Ṛikshoda is mentioned as the birth place of brahmins in the Kāśikā on *Pāṇ*, 4, 3, 91: *Ṛikshodaḥ parvato 'bhijana eshāṁ brāhmaṇānām Ārkshodā brāhmaṇāḥ*. Whatever the second part[2] of the name may be, its composition with *naḍa* 'reed' and *ṛiksha* ' bear ' makes it almost certain that Aboda contains the word *āmra* ' mango '. *Abode* accordingly is written in the normal fashion for *aṁbode*. The Chaitya on the Amboda, the mango-mountain, was probably a sanctuary of local importance. In the relief its veneration by elephants carrying offerings is represented; cf. similar reliefs on Cunningham's Pl. XXX 2 (B 70-72) and XLVI 6.

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[1] *IA.* X, p. 120.

[2] I am of the opinion that these names of mountains, like *Himavat* etc., are formed with the suffix–*vat*. Ṛikshavat, Naḍavat, Āmravat were transferred in Prakrit to the *a*-flexion and with the softening of *t* to *d* and with contraction of *ava* to *o* became *Achchhoda*, *Naḍoda* and *Aṁboda*. Ṛikshoda is a result of incomplete Sanskritisation. The correct Sanskrit form *Ṛikshavat* is attested in the Epics and in the works of Kālidāsa.

7. B 70 - 76 INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO THE LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH MOUNT NAḌODA[1]

B 70 (755); Plates XXII, XLVI

TOGETHER with Nos. B 71 and B 72 on the lowermost relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 45; 115; 135, No. 44, and Pl. XV, XXX and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 25 f., No. 19 a; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 62, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 62; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 92, No. 215; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 165 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCIV (142); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 84.

Text:

1 Bahuhathiko nigodho
2 Naḍode

Translation:

The banyan tree Bahuhathika (*Bahuhastika*; of many elephants)[2] on (Mount) Naḍoda.

See the remarks on No. B 72.
[B 70, B 71 and B 72 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

B 71 (754); Plate XXII

Together with Nos. B 70 and B 72 on the lowermost relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). The inscription is engraved on one of the pillars of the railing below the sculpture. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 115; 135, No. 43, and Pl. XV, XXX and LIV; Hoernle, *IA*, Vol. XI (1882), p. 26, No. 20; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 61, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 61; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 92, No. 214; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 165 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCIV (142); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 84.

Text:

Bahuhathiko

Translation:

(The banyan tree) Bahuhathika (*Bahuhastika;* of many elephants).

See the remarks on No. B 72.
[B 71, B 70 and B 72 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

B 72 (756); Plates XXII, XLVI

Together with Nos. B 70 and B 71 on the lowermost relief of the inner face of the same pillar as No. A 62, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (P 29). Edited by Cunning-

[1] There is an inscription classified under Group 9 (Fragmentary Inscriptions) probably referring to some legend connected with the Himavat mountains (see B 79).
[2] Hultzsch, *IA.* l.c., note 42: " *Bahavo hastino yatra sah,* where many elephants (are worshipping)". Cf. also B 81.

ham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 135, No. 45, and Pl. XV, XXX and LIV; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. XI (1882), p. 25 f., No. 19b; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 67, No. 63, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, No. 63; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 92 f., No. 216; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 165 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCIV (142); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 84 ff.

Text:

1 Susupālo Koḍāyo
2 Veḍuko a-
3 rāmako

Translation:

Susupāla (*Śiśupāla*), the Koḍāya (*Koḍiya*). The park-keeper Veḍuka.

[B 72, B 70 and B 71 refer to one and the same sculpture.]

This relief, which according to the inscription B 70 represents some story connected with a nyagrodha tree on mountain Naḍoda, is in its centre filled by a big banyan tree, with a seat in front of it, decorated with an ornamental band and strewn with flowers. On either side three elephants, one of which is a very young animal, are bowing down or offering garlands. On the right are the figures of two men, both badly damaged. One who is standing with his hands joined in devotion has lost his head; of the other almost nothing but the turban is preserved. The background is formed on the right by rocks, on the left by a slab or bench covered with flowers above which there appears a strange conglomeration which Hoernle, misled by his erroneous reading *Veṭiko* instead of *Veḍuko*, took to be an egg-plant. It indeed seems to be a tree or plant, but I do not dare to determine its exact nature.

The relief bears no less than three inscriptions viz. B 70, B 71 and B 72. Underneath the stone seat, on the decorative rail forming the basis of the relief, we find B 71 and on the stone-seat itself B 70 which gives a fuller version of B 71. The third inscription (B 72) is in the right upper corner above and at the side of the damaged head of one of the two human worshippers near the tree. According to these inscriptions the nyagrodha tree represented in the sculpture is found on the mountain Naḍoda and carries the name Bahuhatthika "by the side of which are many elephants", which corresponds to the scene depicted.

The worship of Chaityas by elephants was apparently a favourite theme associated with different localities. Both Fa-hien[1] and Hüan-tsang[2] tell us that a herd of wild elephants offered worship to the Stūpa of Rāmagrāma[3] by presenting flowers and sprinkling water on the ground. This legend is perhaps represented on the lower architrave of the eastern gate of Sāñchī where elephants offer flowers and fruits to a Stūpa. In the treatment of B 69 we have come across the worship of a tree with a stone seat underneath on mountain Aṁboda. What kind of tree is meant there cannot be fixed with certainty. In the relief on the coping stone shown on Cunningham's Pl. XLVI 6 it is again a nyagrodha tree worshipped by three elephants which lay down branches of trees in a bowl placed on a stone seat.

As regards the two persons who appear as lookers on of the scene, Veḍuka is certainly the same person who in the relief B 73 is represented as milking a tattered cloth on mountain Naḍoda. In our inscription (B 72) he is called *arāmako*, apparently an imperfect spelling for *ārāmako*, while in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit, the usual form is *ārāmika*. As it appears from

[1] Transl. by Legge, p. 69.
[2] Transl. by Beal, Vol. II, p. 26 ff.
[3] Cunningham thought that the sculpture represented that legend, but, apart from the fact that the object of the worship is not a Stūpa, but a tree, the label expressly states that the scene is Naḍoda which, as proved by the inscriptions Nos. B 73 and B 74, was some mountain.

Mahāv. VI, 15, 1; *Chullav.* VI, 21, 3 the *ārāmikas* were park-keepers and sometimes servants of the Saṁgha, without being monks. It is more difficult to account for the epithet of Susupāla. Hoernle was of the opinion that *Koḍāya* might be connected with Sk. *Kauṇḍinya*, P. *Kodañña*, which is phonetically impossible. Barua-Sinha's derivation of *Koḍaya* from *Koḍṛ-rāja* or *Koṭṭa-rāja*, 'the ruler of a fort' need not be discussed. I am sure that Hultzsch was right in taking *Koḍāyo* as a clerical error for *Koḍiyo*, 'belonging to the *Koḍya* or *Koḷiya* tribe'.

The legend represented in the relief remains unknown for the time being[1]. But the inscription B 81 allows with high probability to identify the saint to whom the Chaitya belonged.

B 73 (707); Plates XXII, XLVII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 54). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 98; 131, No. 18, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 120 f., No. 8; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 18, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 18; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 98 f., No. 223; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 169, and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCV (144); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 80 ff.

Text:

V[e]ḍuko[2] katha dohati Naḍode pavate

Translation:

Veḍuka milks the tattered garment on Mount Naḍoda[3].

On the left side of the relief a man is seen squatting on the ground. With both hands he holds the two ends of a somewhat peculiar object, which is suspended from a tree. He is evidently 'milking' them into a small basin held between his knees. The sculptor has even represented the stream of liquid gushing out. The right half of the relief is occupied by four square blocks of different size. Their upper side is slightly concave and covered with symbols which, being three-forked, differ from the ordinary *pañchaṅgulikas*.

In Bhārhut quite a number of representations is found, the scene of which is the mountain Naḍoda[4], which seems to have been in the vicinity of Bhārhut and connected with several local legends. R. P. Chanda (*MASI.* No. 30, p. 6) identified it with a chain of hills called Naro, six miles to the north of Bhārhut. The identification is attractive, even if phonetically it is not completely free from doubt, for then we should expect to get at least *Nalo*.

Veḍuka is undoubtedly identical with the gardener *Veḍuka* mentioned in No. B 72 in

[1] Barua hints at the Mahāvāṇijaj. (493), whereas in his list the relief is directly identified with the said Jātaka. How this is possible, I am at a loss to understand. The only similarity between the sculpture and the Jātaka is the circumstance that in both of them a nyagrodha appears.

[2] The first *akshara* was read *va* by Cunningham. Hoernle and Bühler adopted this reading, while Hultzsch read *ve*. The *e*-sign, although partially coinciding with the framing line of the label, becomes almost certain by the occurrence of *Veḍuko* in No. B 72.

[3] It is unnecessary to discuss Hoernle's translation of the inscription as it is based on an interpretation which nobody will uphold now. Nor can I follow the confused speculations of Barua-Sinha which culminate in the invention of a Jātaka. Their identifications of *Veḍuka* with *Vaḍika*, the hero of Avadāna 6 in the *Avś.* (I, p. 28 ff.) and at the same time with *Vajika*, a supposed surname of Sakka, and of *Naḍoda* with *Nārada*, or *Naḍoda pavata* with *Nārada* and *Parvata* are absolutely unfounded.

[4] The name of the mountain is at times directly mentioned in the labels and at times it is to be inferred. As regards the explanation of the word Naḍoda I refer to my remarks on No. B 69.

a relief which illustrates an event on Mount Naḍoda. The only word in the inscription which presents any difficulty is *katha*, which may denote either the object which is milked or the substance which is milked from it. Hultzsch states that Bühler wanted to explain it as *kvātha* ' decoction '. According to Pāṇini 3, 1, 140, besides *kvātha* there existed in the same meaning also *kvatha*, and we may agree that *katha* may stand for *kvathaṁ* and, if necessary, also for *kvāthaṁ*. But the sense so obtained is hardly satisfactory. Hultzsch proposed to take *katha* as a graphical or dialectal variant of *kaṭha* (*kāshṭha*) ' wood '. I am ready to admit that owing to the negligence of a mason, who forgot to put the dot in the centre of the letter, a *tha* may occasionally appear as *ṭha*, but the superfluous addition of a dot in writing *katha* for *kaṭha*, as Hultzsch's suggestion implies, is highly improbable, and the derivation of *katha* (with dental *th*=*kattha*) from *kāshṭha* is phonetically impossible. Moreover the milking of a piece of wood would not agree with the sculpture. There can be little doubt that the thing (*katha*) which *Veḍuka* is milking is an object hanging down from the tree which is certainly neither a piece of wood nor a bhisti's *mashak* as suggested by Hoernle. What it is meant for will be understood at once, if we remember that the *anusvāra* is frequently not written in these inscriptions and that therefore *katha* may be an imperfect spelling for *kaṁthaṁ*. *kanthā* is the garment of a religious mendicant patched together with hundreds of rags; cf. Bhartṛihari 3, 19: *vastraṁ cha jīrṇaśatakhaṇḍamayī cha kanthā*; 3, 74 *jīrṇā kanthā tataḥ kim*; 3.86 *rathyākshīṇaviśīrṇajīrṇavasanaiḥ saṁprāptakanthāsakhaḥ*; 3, 101 *kaupīnaṁ śatakhaṇḍajarjarataraṁ kanthā punas tādṛiśī*; *Śāntiś.* 4, 20 *dhṛitajaratkanthālavasya*. In *Śāntiś.* 4, 4 the garment of a forest recluse is said to be pieced up with withered leaves: *jīrṇapalāśasaṁhatikṛitāṁ*[1] *kanthāṁ vasāno vane*. *Mahāv.* 8, 12 we are told that Ānanda made garments from rags (*chhinnaka*) having the appearance of fields of rice in Magadha (*Magadhakhetta*) with their manifold boundaries. Exactly in the same way the artist has represented the *kanthā*.

The story of Veḍuka's milking has not yet been identified. It belongs to the circle of legends gathered round Mount Naḍoda which form the subject also of the sculptures referred to under Nos. B 70, B 72, B 74, B 75, B 76, B 81.

B 74 (708); Plates XXIII, XLVII

On a coping-stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 56). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 98; 131, No. 19, and Pl. XLVIII and LIII; Hoernle, *IA.* Vol. X (1881), p. 121, No. 9; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 62, No. 19, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 228, No. 19; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 97, No. 222; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 162 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCI (140); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 82 ff.

Text:

jabū Naḍode pavate

Translation:

The rose-apple tree on Mount Naḍoda.

On the left side of the sculpture there is a tree from which two human hands emerge, one holding a bowl filled with food, while the other is pouring out water from a vessel, resembling a tea-pot, upon the right hand of a man sitting on a *mōṛhā*, or wicker stool. We know from the medallion illustrating the gift of the Jetavana and other sculptures that vessels of that peculiar form (*bhiṅkāra*) were used in the ceremony of pouring the water of donation on the hand of the donee; the scene therefore evidently represents the gift of food to

[1] Variant reading: *śīrṇapalāśapattrarachitāṁ*.

the man by the deity residing in the jambū tree. Another man is walking away carrying a small vessel which he apparently has filled at the tree. According to Anderson, *Cat.* Vol. I, p. 97, there is on the right a block of stone exactly like those of the relief described under No. B 73.

The same scene, with slight modifications, occurs in a relief at Buddha-Gayā reproduced in Cunningham's Mahābodhi, Plate VIII, No. 4. Here the man who receives the water of donation and the bowl with food from the tree-spirit is standing by the side of a *mōṛhā* and a bench, and the man walking off is missing, but the block of stone appears here also in the background. Bloch[1] referred the scene of the Buddha-Gayā sculpture to the feeding of the Bodhisattva by Sujātā. I am unable to discover the slightest resemblance between the relief and that story[2].

Barua-Sinha translate *jabū* by 'the rose-apple trees', which is not in keeping with the sculpture where only a single tree is represented. But I see no reason why *jabū* should be taken as a plural form, *jambū* being the regular nom. sing. of the feminine base, both in Pāli[3] and Prakrit. I quite agree with Barua-Sinha in rejecting Hoernle's suggestion that the jambū tree of the relief is the tree on Mount Meru from which *Jambudvīpa* derives its name. On the other hand I fail to see how it should possibly be connected with the jambū trees mentioned among other trees in Gāthā 584 of the Vessantarajātaka or with the Sambulajātaka (519), as suggested by those two scholars. R. P. Chanda[4] and Coomaraswamy[5] see in the relief the representation of a legend narrated in the *DhA.* I, 203 ff. There we are told that five hundred ascetics on their way from the Himālaya to Kosambī come to a great nyagrodha tree in a forest. The goddess of the tree gives them food and water to drink and to bathe. At the request of the oldest of the group of ascetics she comes out of the tree and informs the ascetics that she had gained great power for having fasted unto death in a former life as a workmaid of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now the relief corresponds to the story as far as the miraculous feeding by the tree-goddess is concerned. But I am very doubtful whether just this story is illustrated. The tree in the relief is a jambū tree, in the story, however, it is a nyagrodha. That speaks against the identification, as well as the circumstance that the men being fed and offered a drink in the relief are not ascetics. Hoernle's[6] explanation of the Bhārhut relief is quite mistaken, and Barua himself withdrew the curious explanation he gave (*BI.* p. 97 f. and *Barh.* II, p. 162 ff.) later on in *Barh.* III, p. 4.[7] The story of the jambū tree represented in the relief is one of the Naḍoda legends which have not yet been discovered in literary sources; cf. the remarks on No. B 73.

B 75 (711 AND 901); PLATE XXIII

FRAGMENTARY inscription on a coping-stone, now lost. Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 131, No. 22, and Pl. LIII. The inscription appears to be identical with the fragment published by Cunningham, ibid. p. 143, No. 18, and Pl. LVI. It was edited again by Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 86, No. 201; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 115; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 89 f.

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[1] *ASIAR.* 1908-09, p. 143 f.

[2] Bloch's statements are wrong in details. Sujātā feeds the Bodhisattva after he gave up the penance and not the Buddha after he gained the Bodhi.

[3] *Kachchāyana* 2, 1, 34.

[4] *MASI.* No. 30, p. 5 ff.

[5] *JRAS.* 1928, p. 393.

[6] *IA.* X, p. 121.

[7] Regarding the label Barua-Sinha say that all former editors read *jabu*. The right reading *jabū* however has already been given by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* XL, p. 62 and in my *List* No. 708.

TEXT:

Dusito giri dadati Na .. ..[1]

TRANSLATION:

Dusita presents the mountain Na(ḍoda?).

Cunningham (*StBh.* p. 131, No. 22) gives an inscription found on a piece of a coping-stone which is now lost. He reads it *Dusito-giri dadati.* According to his eye-copy on Pl. LIII, it is to be read as *dusitogirida dati*; after these letters still a vertical stroke is visible which can be a remnant of *na.* Between *da* and *dati* his sketch shows a lacuna which has to be explained. Like all labels of the coping-stone the inscription must have been engraved on the lowest step of the pyramids above the reliefs. If an inscription runs over several steps the result naturally is that gaps sometimes appear in the middle of a word, e.g. in the inscription B 63 *dighatapasisi seanusāsati* or in the inscription B 73 *veḍukokathado hatinaḍodapa vate.* On the step of the pyramids there is room for six letters. Also it is certain that nothing precedes *dusito* which must be the first word of the inscription.

Amongst the fragments of inscriptions now lost Cunningham gives one which he reads on p. 143, No. 18 *dusito-giri datina.* According to his eye-copy on Pl. LVI it runs *dusitogirida tina.* It seems to be clear that Cunningham gives the same inscription erroneously twice and that we have to restore it as *Dusito giri dadati na. Dusito* is probably a personal name, and the first three words are defective writing for *Dusito giriṁ dadāti* 'Dusita presents the mountain'. Barua and Sinha take the following *na* as negation and connect the inscription with G. 1 of the Suchchajaj. (320) in which we hear of the not-giving of a mountain[2]. This is highly improbable. The negative particle *na* would have to stand before the verb[3]. It is much more probable that the concluding part of the inscription is lost, and I have already proposed in my *List of Brāhmī inscriptions* No. 711 to restore the *na* to *Naḍodaṁ.* As the scene represented has been lost and as particulars of the legends referring to mount Naḍoda are not known for the time being, this restoration can only be called a possibility.

B 76 (781 and 791)[4]; Plate XXIII

On a pillar of the North-Western quadrant. Original lost. Edited by Cunningham *StBh.* (1879), p. 137, No. 70, and Pl. LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 59 f.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 232, note 43; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 87, No. 204; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 121; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 87 f.

TEXT:

[Na]ḍodapāde dhenachhako[5]

[1] From Cunningham's eye-copies on plates LIII and LVI. In the copy on plate LIII *na* is only partly legible, in the copy on plate LVI the second *da* has been omitted. Restore perhaps Naḍoda or Naḍodaṁ.

[2] *Suchchajam vata na chchaji vāchāya adadaṁ girim* ।
kiṁ hi tass' achajantassa vāchāya adada pabbataṁ ॥
The second line is obviously spoiled.

[3] What Barua and Sinha remark for the explanation of *dusito* can be passed over in silence.

[4] Cunningham's inscription No. 70 (*List* 981) appears to be identical with his inscription No. 79 (List 791), mentioned amongst the three inscriptions found on displaced pillars. It is very improbable, that there should have existed two labels with the same text.

[5] From Cunningham's eye-copies Plate LIV No. 70 and 79. Cunningham read *Dodapāpechena charo* in No. 70, and *naḍoda pāde chena chhako* in No. 79. The first *akshara*, which has been omitted in No. 70, is marked as damaged in No. 79. The right half of the cross-bar of *ko* is wanting in No. 70. Hultzsch followed Cunningham in reading *chenachhako*, but the first *akshara* can only be *dhe.*

TRANSLATION:

The dhenachhaka (?) at the foot of (Mount) Naḍoda.

Barua-Sinha boldly identify *dhenachhako* with *dhonasākho* which in *J.* 353, 4 seems to be a name of the banyan tree. The meaning of *dhonasākha* is obscure. Instead of *dhona-* the Ceylonese manuscripts read also *yona-* and *dona-*, the Burmese manuscripts constantly *vena-*, and I should consider it not quite improbable that the original reading was *poṇasākho*=Sk. *pravaṇaśākhaḥ*, 'with sloping branches'. But even granting that *dhena-* of the inscription is a misreading for *dhona-*, or that *dhona-* of the Pāli text is a corruption of *dhena-*, it seems to me impossbile that *-chhako* should be the equivalent of P. *-sākho*, Sk. *-śākhaḥ*. As we know from the inscriptions Nos. B 73 and B 74 several things producing miracles such as a jambū tree granting food and a tattered cloth that could be milked, existed on Mount Naḍoda, and one might be tempted to take *dhenachhako* as a misreading for *dhenuchhako*, which may represent *dhenūtsakaḥ*, the 'cow-well', i.e. a well which yielded milk like a cow; but in the absence of the sculpture all conjectures are practically futile.

8. B 77 - 78 INSCRIPTIONS ATTACHED TO THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CHAṄKAMAS

B 77 (696); Plates XXIII, XLVI

On coping-stone No. II, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (A 21). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 94; 130, No. 7, and Pl. XLVII and LIII; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 61, No. 8, and Pl; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 227, No. 8; Barua, *PASB.* New Ser. Vol. XIX (1924), pp. 354-356, and Pl. XV, fig. 4; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 88, No. 205; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 121 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXXI (116). Barua's explanation of the sculpture was criticized by Vogel, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 595, Note 2; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 35 ff.

Text:

Daḍanikamo chakama

Translation:

The walk Daḍanikama (*Dṛiḍhanishkrama:* of Strong Exertion).

Cunningham's explanation of *Daḍanikama* need not be discussed. Hultzsch doubtfully rendered it by Sk. *Daṇḍanishkrama*, Barua by *Dṛiḍhanishkrama*, referring to the term *daḍhanikkama*, an epithet of the solitary monk in *Sn.* 68, which in the corresponding passage of the *Mvu.* (I, 357) is replaced by *dṛiḍhavikrama*. As in the Bhārhut inscriptions the *anusvāra* is generally omitted and *ḍha* is written as *ḍa*, phonetically both explanations would seem to be equally good, but Barua's is certainly the more plausible one. But his translation of the inscription 'the walk wherefrom the egress is difficult' is impossible, as *daḍha* cannot have the meaning 'difficult'. Pāli *daḍhanikkama* means 'of strong exertion' and if *daḍanikama* in the label is the same word, it must have the same meaning, although at first sight it is a little difficult to conceive how in that case it could be the designation of a *chaṅkama*, a terraced walk. Perhaps the sculpture will help us to understand the term.

The centre of the relief is occupied by the *chaṅkama* decked with *pañchaṅgulikas* and flowers. In front are two colossal heads of demons with a large hand between them. Between these heads and the *chaṅkama* lies a bundle of fagots, apparently burning. On the left side of the bundle a snake is visible, and a lizard on the right side of it. In the background just above the *chaṅkama* four lions appear (of three of these only the heads can be seen). On the right side stands a well-dressed man with folded hands followed by four men dressed in the same fashion. In the left corner a man sits on the ground with his head leaning on his left hand. In his right hand he holds a small stick pointed to the ground.

Barua has identified the sculpture with the Uragajātaka, No. 354 of the Pāli collection. The Jātaka belongs to the class of the stories intended to drive away the grief (*śokāpanodana*). The Bodhisattva is born as a brahmin who lives together with his wife, his son, his daughter, his daughter-in-law and a female servant. One day he is working on his field together with his son. When the son is burning some rubbish, he is bitten by a poisonous snake and dies. The brahmin is unmoved. He sends for his family and the servant. When they have arrived, they burn the body, but not a single tear is shed by any one. On account of their virtue Sakka's throne manifests signs of heat. He resolves to reward their equanimity by

filling their house with the seven treasures, after having uttered the lion's roar. Standing by the side of the funeral pyre he asks by turns the Bodhisattva and the four females why they do not weep and is highly pleased with their answers which all tend to show the futility of grief. According to Barua the burning fagots in the sculpture represent the heap of rubbish burnt by the brahmin's son and at the same time his funeral pyre. The snake is the snake that has caused his death and what I take to be a lizard is declared to be the corpse of the youth. The person sitting in the proper right corner is supposed to be Sakka, while the four lions are said to symbolize his lion's roar. The persons standing on the left side are identified with the brahmin and the four female members of his family, and the *chaṅkama* which Barua, following a remark by Cunningham, takes to be an altar 'is designed as a protection of fire against the wind and signifies symbolically...a dividing line between the living and the dead'.

Vogel has already remarked that this interpretation of the sculpture is impossible. Apart from the fact that the heads of the demons are ignored, that the explanation of the *chaṅkama* is certainly wrong and that the symbolization of Sakka's lion's roar is highly improbable, the five standing persons cannot represent the brahmin and the four female members of his household as all of them are clearly characterized by their turbans as male persons[1]. Nor can the seated figure be Sakka. A man in the same attitude is found in the relief on Pl. XXXVII, (cf. B 26), fig. on the left, and it cannot be doubted that there Māra is represented as mourning, while all the other gods are rejoicing at the birth of the Bodhisattva. The attitude is quite in keeping with the description of Māra in literary sources after his defeat by the Buddha. ' Then ', it is said in the *S.* I, 124, ' Māra, the Evil one, went away from that place and sat down on the earth with crossed legs, not very far from the Holy one, silent, discontented, with his shoulders falling and his face bent down, down-cast, bewildered, scratching the earth with a piece of wood' (*atha kho Māro pāpimā...tamhā ṭhānā apakkamma Bhagavato avidūre pathaviyaṁ pallaṅkena nisīdi tuṇhībhūto maṅkubhūto pattakkhandho adhomukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno kaṭṭhena bhūmiṁ vilikhanto*). The same description is found in the *Lalitav.* and the *Mvu.* with the only difference that in the *Mvu.* an arrow (*kāṇḍa*) takes the place of the piece of wood (*kāshṭha*). *Mvu.* II, 283: *Māro ca pāpīmāṁ duḥkhī daurmanasyajāto antaḥśalyaparidāghajāto ekamante pradhyāye kāṇḍena bhūmiṁ vilikhanto;* II, 349: *Māraś ca durmano āsi kāṇḍena likhate mahīṁ* । *jito 'smi devadevena Śākyasiṁhena tāpinā*; III, 281: *Māro pāpīmāṁ Bhagavato avidūre saṁnishaṇṇo abhūshi duḥkhī durmano vipratisārī kāṇḍena bhūmiṁ vilikhanto. Lalitav.* 378: *atha khalu Māraḥ pāpīyān...ekānte prakrāmya sthito 'bhūt* । *duḥkhī durmanā vipratisārī adhomukhaḥ kāshṭhena mahīṁ vilikhan vishayaṁ me 'tikrānta iti.*

In the Nidānakathā (*J.* I, 78) Māra is spoken of as sitting at the corner of a road and meditating on the sixteen points in which he is not equal to the Buddha by drawing lines on the sand until his three daughters arrive and enquire after the cause of his grief. In the Māra- and Bhikkhunīsaṁyutta of the *S.* (IV; V) it is regularly stated that Māra is plunged into grief whenever one of his many attacks on the Buddha or some monk or some men has turned out unsuccessful. The representation of the mourning Māra apparently was conventional, and we may be sure that in our sculpture also the dejected person drawing figures on the ground was at once rightly understood as Māra by every Buddhist. We may further assume that the cause of his depression apparent in the relief is the fact that he has failed to subdue some saint meditating on the *chaṅkama.* The saint, of course, does not appear in the relief, as neither the Buddha nor Buddhist clericals are ever represented in the sculptures

[1] There is not the slightest evidence that the figure wearing a turban in the relief Pl. XLVIII, II is a female as asserted by Barua.

of this time. But the means by which Māra tried to inspire him with fear, stupefaction and horripilation and to disturb him in his concentration[1], as it is often said in the Suttas, appear to be indicated by the lions, the demons and probably also by the burning fagot, the snake and the lizard. Similar phantoms are mentioned in the accounts of Māra's combat against the Buddha in the Nidānakathā, the *Mvu.*, the *Lalitav.* and Aśvaghosha's *Buddhach.* Here also we read of monsters with tongues drawn out or with spike-like ears, of lions and lion-faced demons, of poisonous snakes and demons spitting out serpents, of showers of live embers and blazing straw. And just as the gods came to praise the Buddha, when Māra was vanquished, so here five gods, probably Sakka and the four Lokapālas, have come to offer their congratulations. We do not know the name of the saint whose victory over Māra is commemorated in the sculpture, but it may be easily imagined that the *chaṅkama* where he had gained the upper hand was called after the strong exertion he had displayed on that occasion. We know from the Chinese pilgrims that many *chaṅkamas* of Buddhas and Arhats of the past were shown in their time in India. Evidently the *Daḍhanikkama chaṅkama* as well as the *Tikoṭika chaṅkama* (B 78) belonged to this class of time-honoured monuments.

Chaṅkama probably has been at first the designation of a levelled and cleaned spot on which the monks walked up and down in meditation. The word is taken thus, for instance, by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in the translation of *Mahāv.* 5, 1, 13 ff. (*SBE.* XVII, p. 7). But certainly already in the canonical texts the *chaṅkama* is also a place for walking built with great care. In the *Mvu.* 3, 5, 6 f. *chaṅkama* is mentioned in the list of constructions which a layman erects on behalf of the order, and from the statements in the *Chullav.* 5, 14, 2 it appears that the *chaṅkama* was a raised promenade place, lined with bricks, stones, or wood and furnished with staircases and railings. *Chaṅkamas* of this kind are mentioned apparently also in the Suttas, as here we read often about stepping on the *chaṅkama* and of descending from the *chaṅkama*: *vihārā nikkhamma chaṅkamaṁ abbhuṭṭhāsi D.* I, 105; *chaṅkamā orohitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi Sn.* I, 212. Also the huts of leaves for ascetics were furnished with raised promenade places. In *J.* II, 273 we are told that the king allows an ascetic to live in his park '*paṇṇasālaṁ kāretvā chaṅkamaṁ māpetvā*'. In *J.* V, 132 is described how Jotipāla steps forth from the hut in his hermitage built by Sakka, how he mounts on the place for promenade and enters into meditation while walking up and down: *paṇṇasālato nikkhamitvā chaṅkamaṁ āruyha katipayavāre aparāparaṁ chaṅkami.* The erection of such *chaṅkamas* for the use of monks is also testified by the inscriptions. The Kaṇheri inscription No. 998 of my *List* mentions the donation of a cave, a water cistern, a number of benches to sit on, a chair (*pidha*) and a walk (*chaṅkama*).

Such *chaṅkamas*, however, have also been erected as memorials on such places where the Buddha or his predecessors were supposed to have walked up and down. Hüan-tsang (Beal II, p. 48; Watters II, p. 52) reports that on the site of Ṛishipatana a *chaṅkama* of four Buddhas of former times was shown. It was about 50 steps long and seven feet high and consisted of dark blue stones. On it a statue of the Tathāgata was standing[2]. In I-tsing's Kiu-fa-kao-sêng-chuan (Chavannes, *Religieux Éminents*, p. 96) it is mentioned that in Nālandā a *chaṅkama* of the Buddha existed. It was about 2 ells broad, 14 or 15 ells long and more than 2 ells high. It was decorated with lotus flowers made out of white lime in order to mark the steps of the Buddha. According to the inscriptions Nos. 918, 919 and 925 of my *List* there was in Bārāṇasī and in Śrāvastī as well a *chaṅkama* of the Buddha on which the monk Bala

[1] *S.* I, 129: *bhayaṁ chhambhitattaṁ lomahaṁsaṁ uppādetukāmo samādhimhā chāvetukāmo.*

[2] As Hüan-tsang mentions (Beal I, p. 183; Watters I, p. 311), steps of the former four Buddhas were also shown in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. Probably also in this case 'the steps' are to be regarded as *chaṅkamas.*

erected a statue of a Bodhisattva in the first years of Kanishka's reign. According to the legend of the Nidānakathā (*J.* I, 77 f.) the Buddha, after his enlightenment, built for himself, between the Bodhi tree and the Animisachetiya, a *chaṅkama* of jewels running from west to east on which he walked up and down for a period of seven days[1]. The place was known as Ratanachaṅkamachetiya. Fa-hien (Legge p. 88 f.) mentions this Chaitya in his description of Gayā. Hüan-tsang (Beal II, p. 122; Watters II, p. 119 f.) says that in later times a wall of bricks, more than three feet high, was erected at the walk. This wall has been preserved till today. Cunningham (*Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.) has found on the northern side of the Bodhi-temple a plain wall of bricks, 53 feet long, 3 feet six inches broad, and somewhat more than three feet high. On each side were the fragments of 11 bases meant for the fixing of octagonal pillars. So the brick construction once must have been roofed.

Cunningham recognized such a *chaṅkama* with a roof in the relief depicted on Pl. XXXI 4 of *StBh.* and Pl. V 1 of his book *Mahābodhi* (cf. ibid. p. 9 f.). The relief shows an open hall, supported by octagonal pillars. It has an upper storey on the balcony of which three arched doors lead. A roof crowned by pinnacles vaults above the whole construction. Through the entire length of the building a block of stone is extended, decorated on the surface with flowers and in front with *pañchaṅgulikas*. The long block is divided in four parts by the pillars standing in front. Cunningham, *StBh.*, p. 121, once assumed that here the seats of four Buddhas were represented. But this division of the block is only apparent. St. Kramrisch wants to see in the relief, as Barua writes in *Barh.* II, p. 25, a representation of the *ratana-chaṅkama* which the Buddha built for himself. Against this view speaks the fact that the presence of the Buddha is not hinted at by his steps as we should expect. Cunningham indeed was of the opinion that the flowers on the surface of the *chaṅkama* were meant to indicate the places touched by the feet of the Buddha. Therefore, according to him, they are arranged in two rows to mark the steps on the right and the left side. I am not able to discover anything of such a regular arrangement. Besides, the flowers are intermingled with twigs. These flowers and twigs are apparently tokens of worship offered by the devotees here as well as on the stone seats under the Bodhi trees. On the front side of these stone seats, just as on our *chaṅkama*, the *pañchaṅgulikas* sometimes appear. Therefore I am of the opinion that not the *chaṅkama* of the Buddha but a *chaṅkamachetiya*, built as a memorial on the scene of the event, is represented. The building depicted should by the way be more rightly called a *chaṅkamasālā*. This expression, besides *chaṅkama*, is to be found in the list of buildings for the order in the *Mahāv.* 3, 5, 6 f. It is used according to the *Chullav.* 5, 14, 2 to designate a hall for walking, protected against heat and cold, which apparently means that it is provided with a roof. In any case, however, more simple, raised, but not roofed *chaṅkamas* were built as *chaityas*, and representations of two such *chaṅkamas* are preserved at Bhārhut.

B 78 (765); PLATES XXIII, XLVII

INSCRIPTION on a pillar of the South-Western quadrant, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 10). Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 25 f.; 83; 135 f., No. 54 and Pl. XXVIII and LIV; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 68, No. 68, and Pl.; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 233, No. 68; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 99, No. 224; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 76 ff., and Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXIX (83); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 35.

TEXT:

Tikoṭiko chakamo

[1] Also when visiting Kapilavastu, the Buddha creates by magic a *chaṅkama* in the air on which he performs the *yamakapāṭihāriya*. See the relief on the Northern gate of the Stūpa of Sāñchī.

TRANSLATION:

The walk Tikoṭika (triangular).

In the left corner of the medallion is a *chaṅkama* of triangular form decorated with floral designs. The recess in the middle is filled by a three-headed serpent. Near the *chaṅkama* are two trees and a water-trough. In the lower left quarter are two lions and the whole of the right half is occupied by a herd of seven elephants in the attitude of feeding, drinking and throwing their trunks backwards. Cunningham took the sculpture as a representation of the Nāgaloka. It is unnecessary to discuss this assumption which is based on perfectly impossible explanations of *tikoṭiko*[1] and *chakamo*. Barua-Sinha's attempt to interpret the bas-relief by a Jātaka invented for the occasion has been refuted already by Vogel, *JRAS*. 1927, p. 594 ff. Barua's later suggestion that the medallion represents the lake near Benares in which the Buddha used to wash his clothes is incompatible with the clear meaning of the label. I quite agree with him that, like the *daḍanikama* walk, the triangular walk also is some monument associated with some legend which is not known to us.

[1] *Tikoṭiko* naturally cannot have anything to do with *Trikūṭa*. Its meaning can only be ' triangular '. Hultzsch, *IA*., l.c., note 47: " *Tisraḥ koṭayo yasya saḥ*, ' *triangular* ' ". By chance *koṭi* just in connection with *chaṅkamana* occurs in *J*. III, 85, 8; IV, 329, 5.

9. B 79 - 82 FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO THE JĀTAKAS OR RELIGIOUS LEGENDS

B 79 (884)[1]; Plate XXIII

RAIL inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. First edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL (1886), p. 75, No. 153, and Pl.; Hultzsch, *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 153; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 33, No. 117.

Text:

.. .. .. [da] Himavate i .. ..

Translation:

....on the Himavata (*Himavat*)....

According to Barua-Sinha it is doubtful whether this inscription is 'a votive or a Jātaka label'. The only readable word *Himavate* reminds one of the stories connected with mountain Naḍoda treated under B 73 ff. Some remarkable event which took place on the Himālaya may have been depicted on the lost relief to which this inscription originally belonged.

B 80 (897)[2]; Plate XXIII

First edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1897), p. 143, No. 14, and Pl. LVI; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 80 f., No. 191; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 89 f.; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 5 f.

Text:

.. .. ..[n]iyajātaka

Translation:

The Jātaka of......niya.

The inscription records the name of some Jātaka. Barua restores the label to Bhojājānīya-Jātakaṁ, the title of the *J.* 23 in the Pāli collection. After having found out that the Bhojājānīyajātaka relates the tale of a thorough-bred Sindh horse, he connects the label with a small fragment of the coping-stone (Cunningham, *StBh.* Pl. XLV, 1; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. III (1937), Pl. LXXI, 90) where at the left corner the head and the forefoot of a horse are visible, and gives the Bhojājānīyajātaka as identified in his list of identified reliefs. But, according to Lüders, the restoration of the inscription as proposed by Barua is quite arbitrary. The *n* in *niya* is fragmentary and *-iya* at the end of titles of the Jātakas in the Bhārhut labels is common. It is found in about one-third of the total number of cases[3]. So this identification is nothing more than an unfounded supposition.

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[1] The treatment of Lüders of this inscription has not been recovered.

[2] The treatment of Lüders of this inscription has been lost. The reading is according to the eye-copy of Cunningham.

[3] E.g. Maghādeviya, Bhisaharaniya, Chhadaṁtiya, Isisiṁgiya, Viturapunakiya, Mugaphakiya, Yavamajhakiya.

B 81 (902)[1]; Plate XXIII

Edited by Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), p. 143, No. 19, and Pl. LVI; Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* Vol. XL, p. 76, note 2; *IA.* Vol. XXI (1892), p. 239, No. 160; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 78, No. 188; Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* (1927), No. 30, p. 6; Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 86 f.

Text:

1 (Ba)huhathika āsana
2 (bhaga)vato Mahādevasa[2]

Translation:

The seat Bahuhathika ('where there are many elephants') of the holy Mahādeva.

This fragmentary inscription, of which only an eye-copy by Cunningham is known, stood on a sculpture the whereabouts of which are not known. The restoration at the beginning of each line can be regarded as certain.

Cunningham remarks that the relief depicted a throne (*āsana*) with a number of human hands (*bahuhathika*) on the front side. *Bahuhathika*, however, certainly does not refer to the hands, which are nothing else than the normal *pañchaṅgulikas.* It must have the same meaning as *bahuhathika* of B 70 and B 71 where we found it as the name of the holy nyagrodha tree on mountain Naḍoda, and it is likely that the seat and the tree represent the same locality. Cunningham indeed does not say anything of a tree; but from his silence it cannot be concluded that a tree has not been present on the relief as stone seats usually are not depicted without a tree standing behind. Cunningham really did not intend to give a full description of the sculpture. He was only interested in the explanation of the word *āsana* and *bahuhathika.* Bhagavat Mahādeva to whom the stone seat is here ascribed can scarcely be someone else than the historical Buddha[3] who according to B 62 was qualified by this epithet. Therefore, if the identification of *Bahuhathika āsana* with *Bahuhathiko nigodho* is right, the person of the Buddha must have played also a role in the legends located on mountain Naḍoda.

B 82 (903 a)[4]; Plates XXIII, XLVII

Fragmentary inscription. Cunningham, *StBh.* (1879), Pl. XXXV, 2; Barua-Sinha, *BI.* (1926), p. 99, No. 225; Barua, *Barh.* Vol. II (1934), p. 171 and Vol. III (1937), Pl. XCVI (147); Lüders, *Bhārh.* (1941), p. 40, f. n. 1.

Text:

[rā]ma..[5]

Barua-Sinha read the inscription as *himan*(*i*) and doubtfully restore it to *himāni-chaṁkamo* "the snowy resort". It is quite unintelligible how this restoration could be made. The

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[1] Lüders' treatment of this inscription is missing in the manuscript. Our explanation is based on his remarks l.c.

[2] The readings given by Cunningham on p. 143 (*Ba*)*huhathikasa* and *Maha Devasa* are only erroneous.

[3] Ramaprasad Chanda wants to explain Mahādeva as a tree-deity. Now the attribute *bhagavat* is indeed applied also to lower deities, e.g. to a Nāga in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 of my *List*; by the Buddhists, however, it seems to have been given only to the Buddha.

[4] Lüders' treatment of this inscription has not been recovered. The text given below is based on his remarks l.c.

[5] From the photograph in *StBh.*

reading is very uncertain—on the photograph only *ma* can be made out clearly—, and the medallion represents evidently two men engaged in a wrestling match. The explanation as *chaṅkama* has been given up by Barua later on, and replaced by another one, not less queer. In *Barh.* II, p. 171, he explains the medallion as showing two men lying on the ground embracing each other, placing neck upon neck, and intertwining their upper legs. The background is filled with a number of lotus flowers. According to Barua these are snow-flakes which signify that the men are sleeping on a snowy ground and embracing each other as a means of putting off the cold. 'The scene, as it is, betrays only a decorative purpose'. I think it unecessary to add any comments.

CONCORDANCE OF LÜDERS' LIST NUMBERS AND THE NUMBERS IN THE PRESENT WORK

List		List		List		List		List		List	
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688	A 2	725	A 21	762	A 61	799	A 46	835	A 31	871	A 116
689	A 129	726	B 7	763	A 8	800	A 73	836	A 49	872	A 117
690	A 70	727	A 94	764	A 52	801	B 19	837	A 19	873	A 103
691	B 57	728	A 22	765	B 78	802	B 53	838	A 18	874	A 100
692	B 63	729	A 98	766	A 65	803	A 124	839	A 20	875	A 121
693	B 69	730	B 47	767	A 6	804	A 54	840	A 76	876	A 47
694	B 50	731	B 32	768	A 66	805	B 35	841	A 77	877	A 36
695	B 42	732	B 33	769	B 52	806	A 43	842	A 67	878	A 48
696	B 77	733	B 34	770	B 8	806a	A 44	843	A 109	879	A 104
697	B 64	734	A 95	771	B 9	807	B 59	844	A 108	880	A 112
698	B 48	735	B 6	772	A 80	808	A 26	845	A 96	881	B 62
699	B 68	736	B 4	773	A 59	809	A 7	846	A 105	882	A 4
700	B 41	737	B 5	774	B 40	810	B 51	846a	A 111	883	A 99
701	B 54	738	A 62	775	B 21	811	B 12	847	A 101	884	B 79
702	B 65	739	B 23	776	B 22	812	A 17	848	A 88	885	A 35
703	B 46	740	B 24	777	B 18	813	A 33	849	A 110	886	A 69
704	B 45	741	B 25	778	A 29	814	B 20	850	A 64	887	A 126
705	A 5	742	B 26	779	B 13	815	A 78	851	A 79	888	A 131
706	B 58	743	B 27	780	A 30	816	A 15	852	A 45	889	A 128
707	B 73	744	B 28	781	B 76	817	A 37	853	A 90	890	A 132
708	B 74	745	B 29	782	A 16	818	A 13	854	A 115	891	A 9
709	B 56	746	B 30	783	B 15	819	A 11	855	A 92	892	A 130
710	B 67	747	B 31	784	A 32	820	A 10	856	A 56	893	A 113
711	B 75	748	B 60	785	B 49	821	A 120	857	A 55	894	A 134
712	A 34	749	B 61	786	B 55	822	A 114	858	A 41	895	A 107
713	A 38	750	B 38	787	A 60	823	A 118	859	A 53	896	A 135
714	B 14	751	B 39	788	B 66	824	A 81	860	A 28	897	B 80
715	A 68	752	B 36	789	A 39	825	B 44	861	A 23	898	A 97
716	A 71	753	B 37	790	B 10	826	A 119	862	A 122	899	A 125
717	B 11	754	B 71	791	B 76	827	A 102	863	A 91	900	A 133
718	A 42	755	B 70	792	A 58	828	A 84	864	A 82	901	B 75
719	A 14	756	B 72	793	B 2	829	A 85	865	A 83	902	B 81
720	A 12	757	A 136	794	B 1	830	A 86	866	A 106	903	A 127
721	A 50	758	A 123	795	B 3	831	A 72	867	A 57	903a	B 82
722	B 16	759	A 40	796	A 27	832	A 89	868	A 87		
723	A 24	760	B 17	797	A 51	833	A 63	869	A 3		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. =Aṅguttaranikāya, ed. Morris, Hardy, PTS
Am. =Amarakośa, ed. Chintamani Shastri Thatte, Bombay 1882
AO. =Acta Orientalia
ASIAR =Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Reports
ASIM =Archaeological Survey of India. Memoirs
ASR. =Archaeological Survey Reports
ASSI. =Archaeological Survey of Southern India
ASWI. =Archaeological Survey of Western India
Avś. =Avadānaśataka, ed. Speyer
Barh. =Barua, Benimadhab, Barhut. Books I-III
(I—Stone as a Story-Teller,
II—Jātaka-scenes,
III—Aspects of life and Art.) Indian Research Institute's Publications. Fine Art Series. Nos. 1-3. Calcutta 1934-1937
Barua =see *Barh.* and *BI*
BB. =Bezzenbergers Beiträge: Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, Göttingen 1877-1906
BEFEO. =Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Hanoi
Bhārh. =Lüders, Heinrich, Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur. Leipzig 1941 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVI, 3)
BhV. =Kala, Satish Chandra, Bharhut Vedikā, Municipal Museum, Allahabad 1951
BI. =Barua, Benimadhab, and Sinha, Kumar Gangananda, Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes. Calcutta 1926
Buddhach. =Buddhacharita, ed. Cowell, ed. Johnston
Bv. =Buddhavaṁsa, ed. Morris, PTS
Cat. =Anderson, J., Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Pt. 1, Calcutta 1883
Chullav. =Chullavagga, ed. Oldenberg
CII. =Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CPD. =Critical Pāli Dictionary
D. =Dīghanikāya, ed. Rhys Davids, Carpenter, PTS
DA. =Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Commentary to the Dīghanikāya), ed. Rhys Davids, Carpenter, Stede, PTS
DhA. =Dhammapada Atthakathā (Commentary to the Dhammapada), ed. Smith, Norman, PTS
DhsA. =Atthasālinī (Commentary to Dhammasaṅgaṇi), ed. Müller, PTS
Divy. =Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell-Neil
EI. =Epigraphia Indica
GN. =Nachrichten der Akademie (Gesellschaft) der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
Hal. =Halāyudha Abhidhānaratnamālā, ed. Aufrecht
Hariv. =Harivaṁśa
Hem. =Hemachandra
Hem. An. =Anekārthasaṁgraha

Hem. Abh. =Abhidhānachintāmaṇi
HOS. =Harward Oriental Series
IA. =Indian Antiquary
IHQ. =Indian Historical Quarterly
J. =Jātaka, ed. Fausböll
JA. =Journal Asiatique
JAOS. =Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBAS. =Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society
JPTS. =Journal of the Pāli Text Society
JPASB. =Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
JRAS. =Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Lalitav. =Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann
M. =Majjhimanikāya, ed. Trenckner, PTS
Mahābodhi =Cunningham, A., Mahābodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddhagaya, London, 1892
Mahām. =Mahāmāyūrī, ed. S. von Oldenburg
Mahāv. =Mahāvagga, ed. Oldenberg
MASI. =Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Mbh. =Mahābhārata
Mil. =Milindapañha, ed. Trenckner
Mvp. =Mahāvyutpatti, ed. Minayeff
Mvu. =Mahāvastu, ed. Senart
P. =Pāli
PASB. =Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
PD. =Childers, Pāli Dictionary
PTS. =Pāli Text Society
PTSD =The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary
S. =Saṁyuttanikāya, ed. Feer, PTS
SA. =Sāratthappakāsinī (Comm. to the Saṁyuttanikāya), ed. Woodward, PTS
Śāntiś. =Śāntiśataka, ed. K. Schönfeld, Leipzig 1910
SBE =Sacred Books of the East, ed. M. Müller
Ś. Br. =Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, ed. Weber
Sk. =Sanskrit
Sn. =Suttanipāta, ed. Andersen-Smith, PTS
SnA. =Paramatthajotikā (Comm. to Suttanipāta), ed. H. Smith, PTS
SPAW. =Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
StBh. =Cunningham, A., The Stūpa of Bhārhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B.C., London 1879
Suttav. =Suttavibhaṅga, ed. Oldenberg
Th. =Theragāthā, ed. Oldenberg, PTS
Toev. =H. Kern, Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers; 2 pts (Verhandelingen Kon. Ak. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam N.R. XVI, 4-5), Amsterdam 1916
Trik. =Trikāṇḍaśesha
Ud. =Udāna, ed. Steinthal, PTS
Vaij. =Vaijayantī, ed. Oppert 1893
Vism. =Visuddhimagga, ed. Rhys Davids, PTS
Vv. =Vimānavatthu, ed. E.R. Gooneratne, PTS

VvA. =Vimānavatthu-Atthakathā, ed. Hardy, PTS
WZKM. =Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG. =Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII. =Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

THE BHĀRHUT INSCRIPTIONS ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED

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[1] In the index the words are first given as they occur in the inscriptions. In brackets we add the nominal stem or the verbal base of each word with its restored spelling. The restoration shows the never written double consonants, the omitted *anusvāra,* and the correct length of vowels. The Sanskrit equivalent in each case comes at the end.— § refers to the § in 'The Language' above pp. XIII-XXIX.

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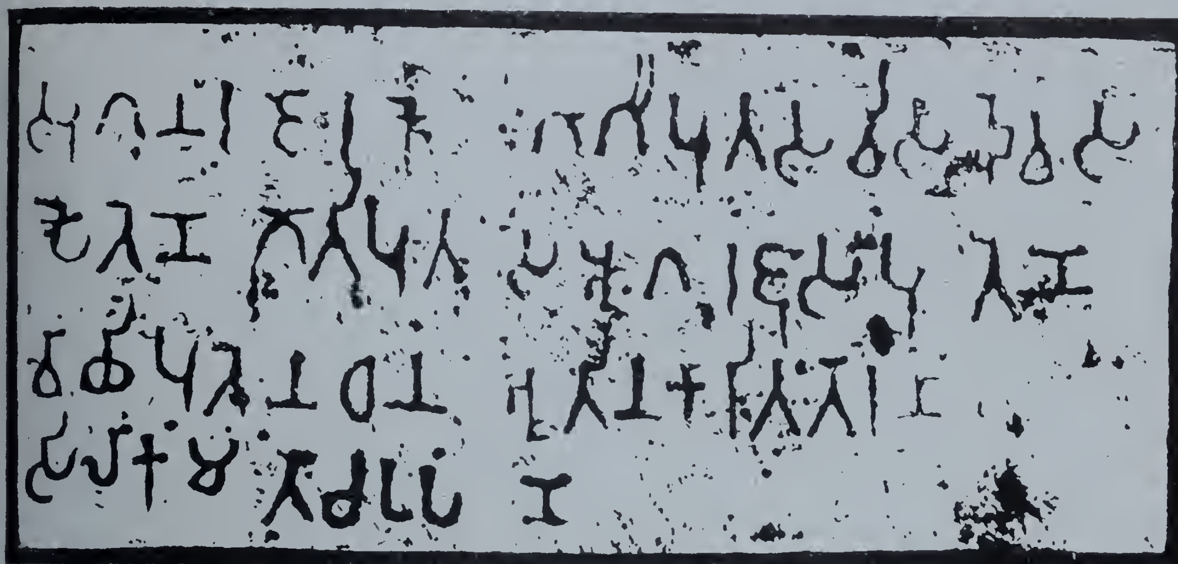
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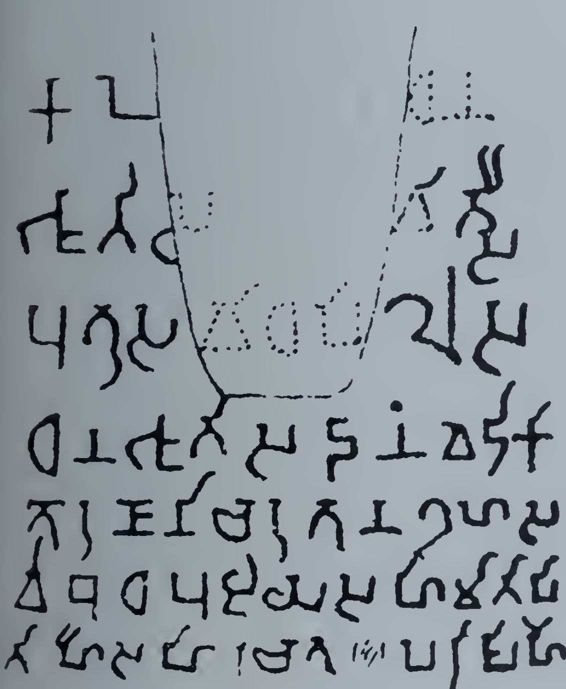
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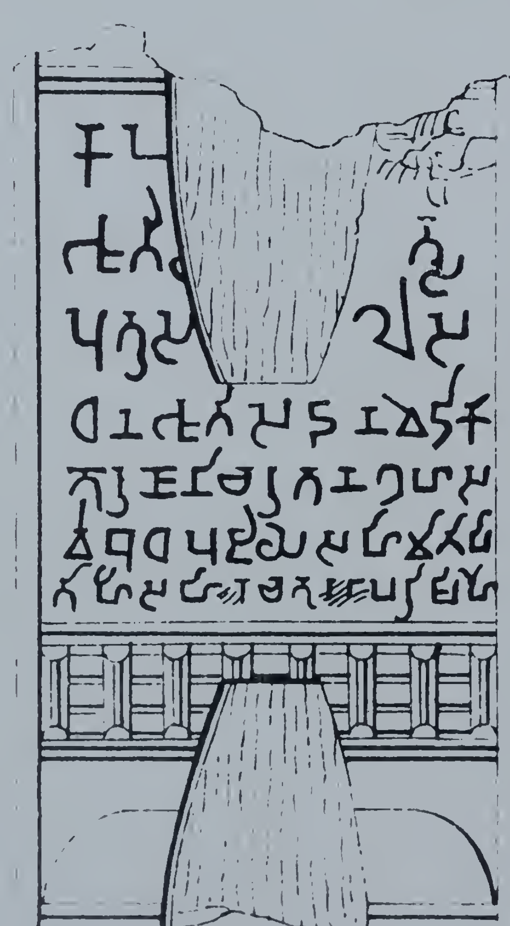
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4 MATHURA.



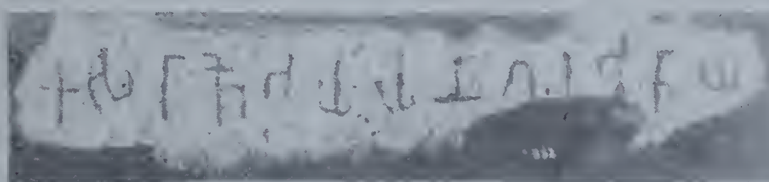
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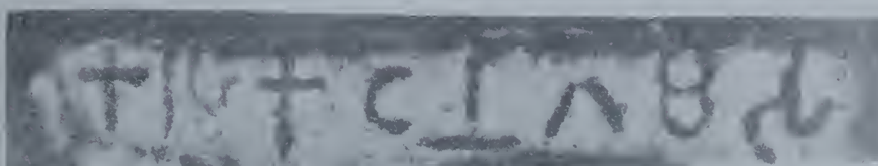
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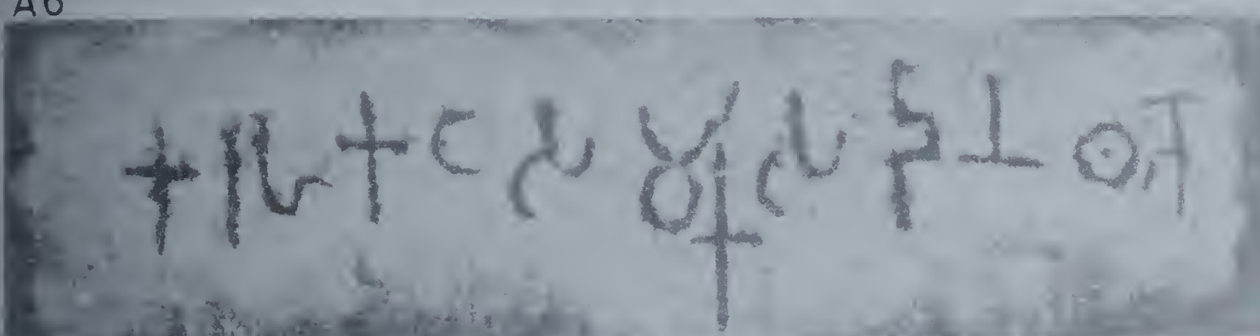
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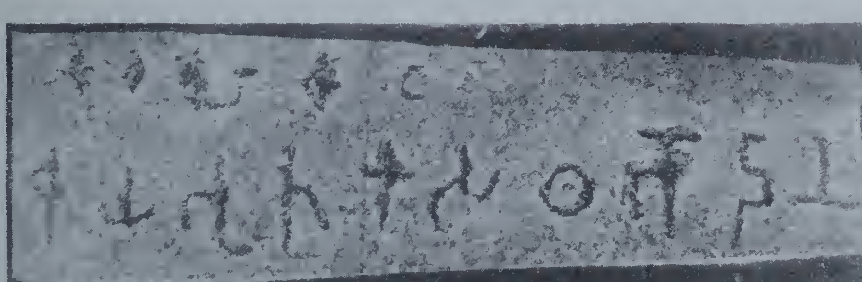
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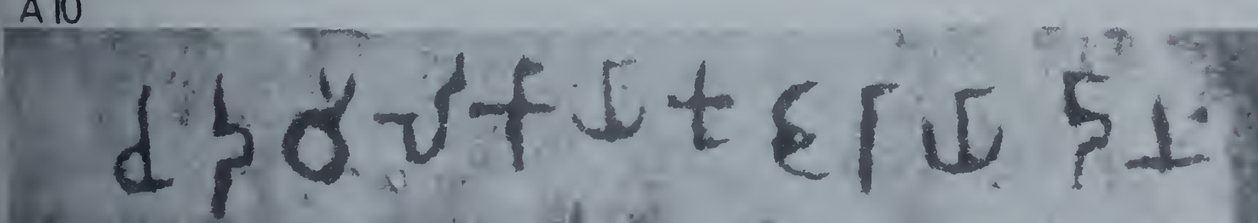
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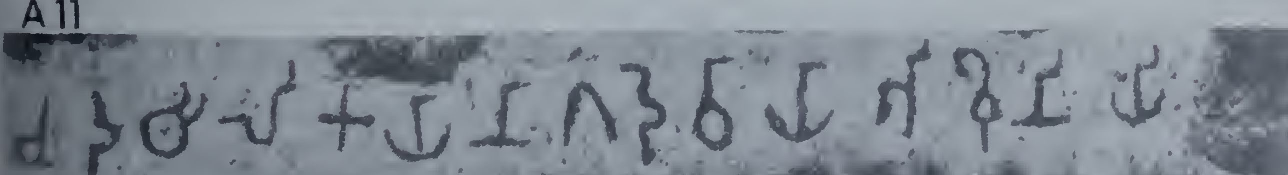
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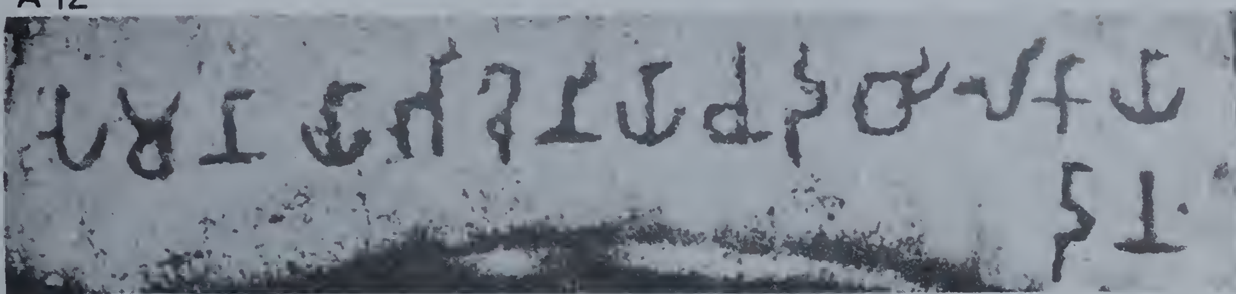
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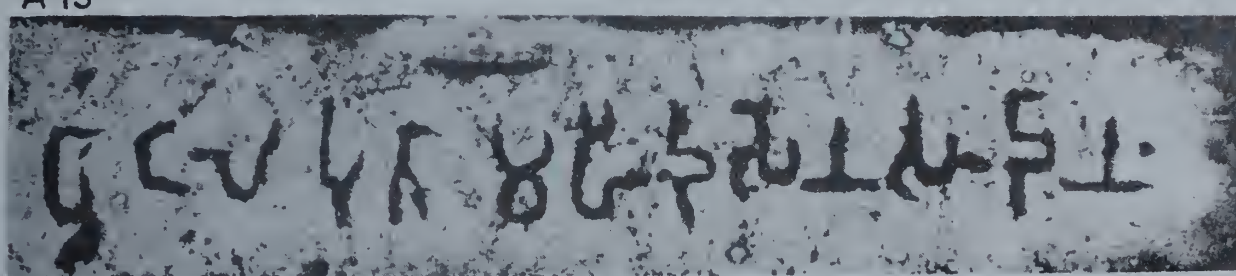
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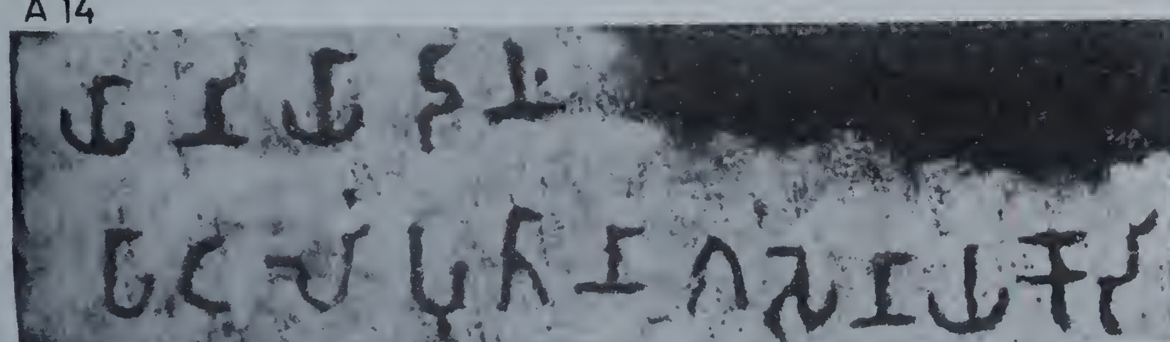
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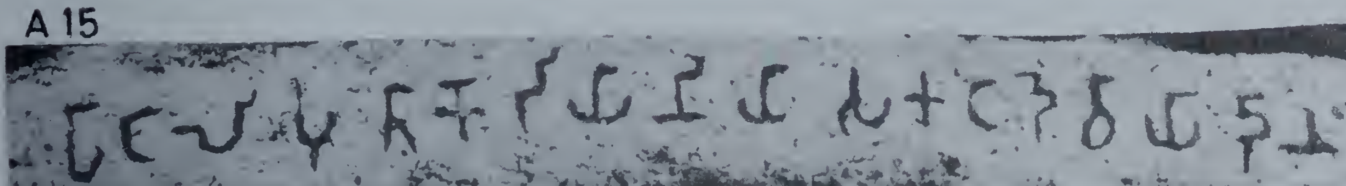
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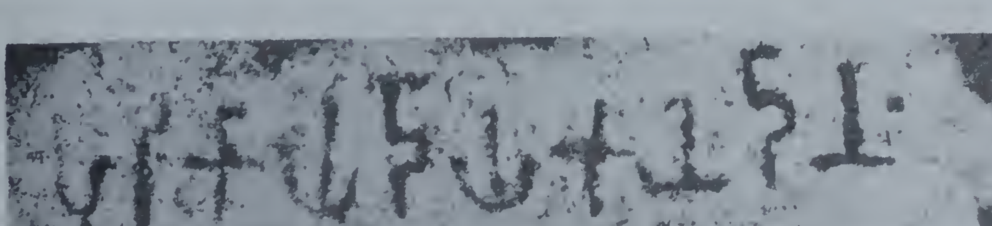
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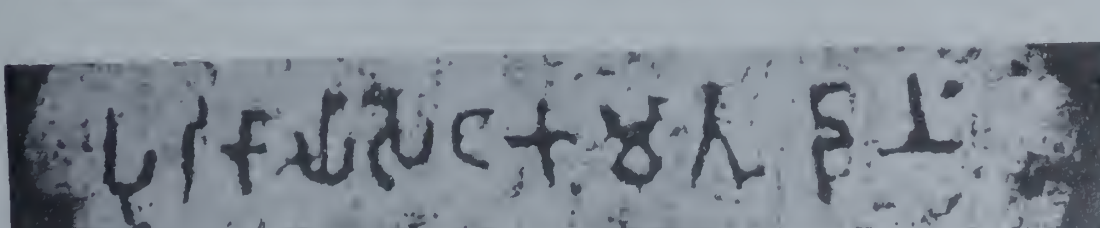
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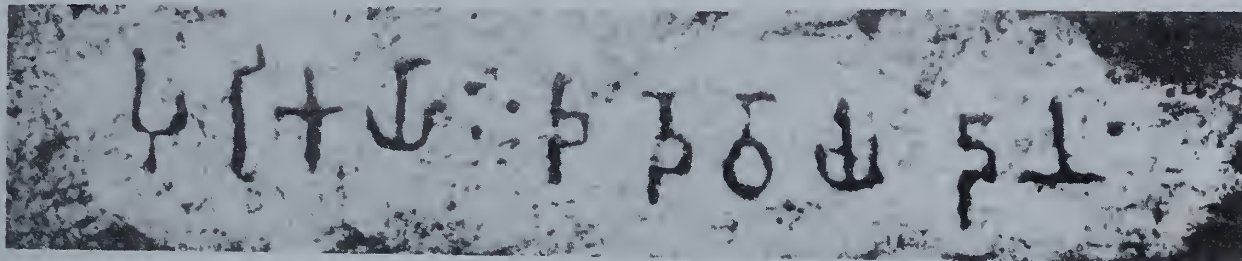


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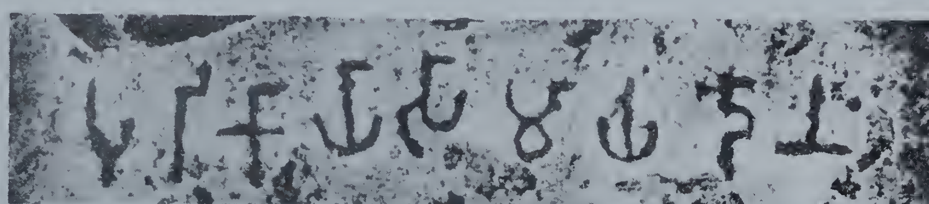


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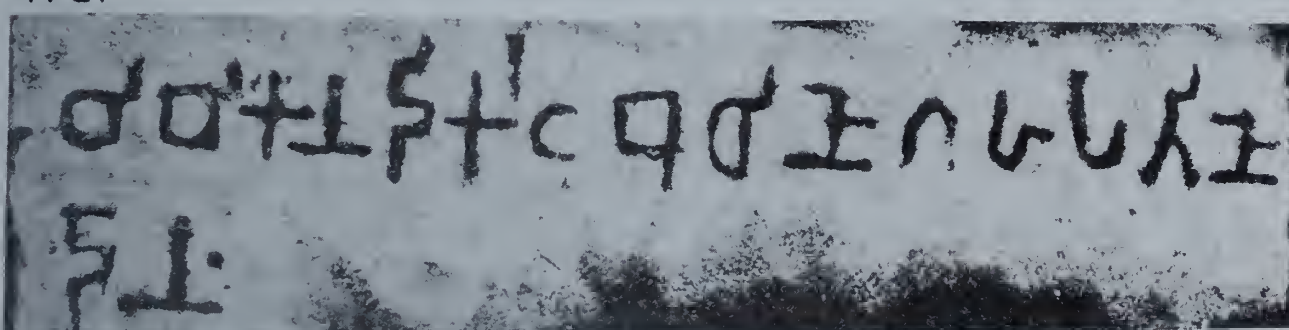
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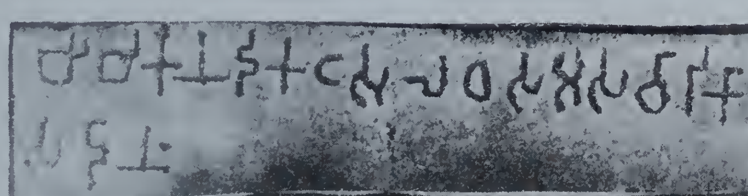
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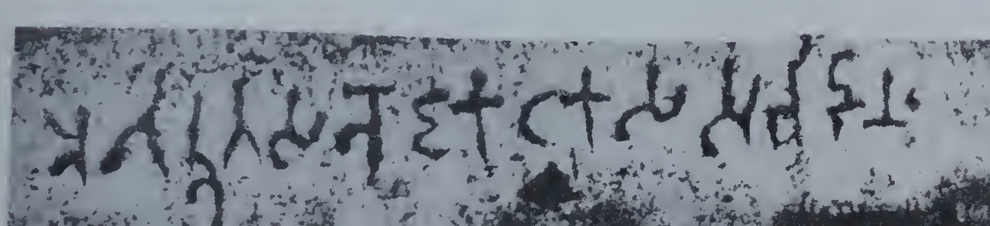
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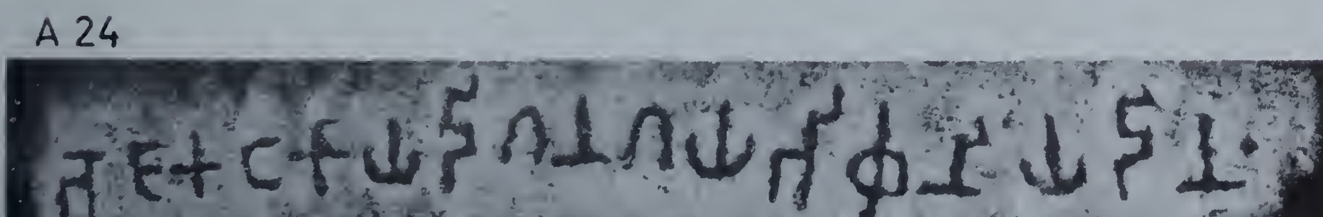
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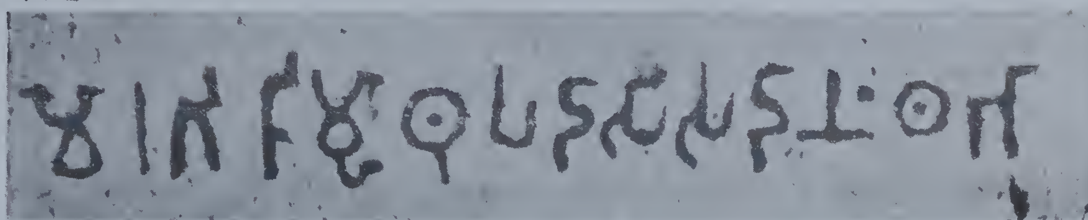


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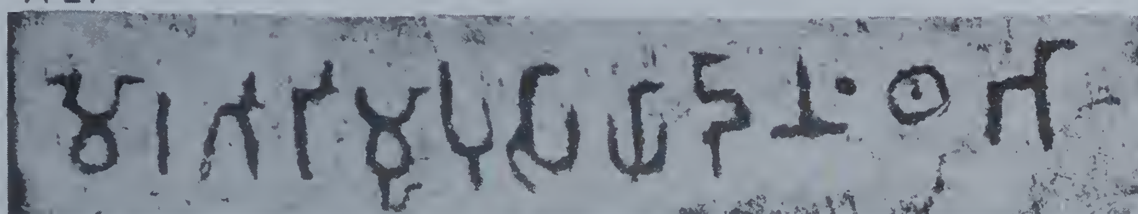


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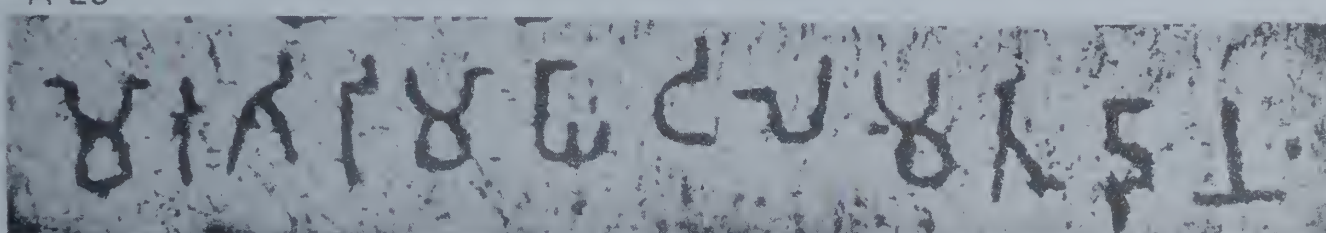
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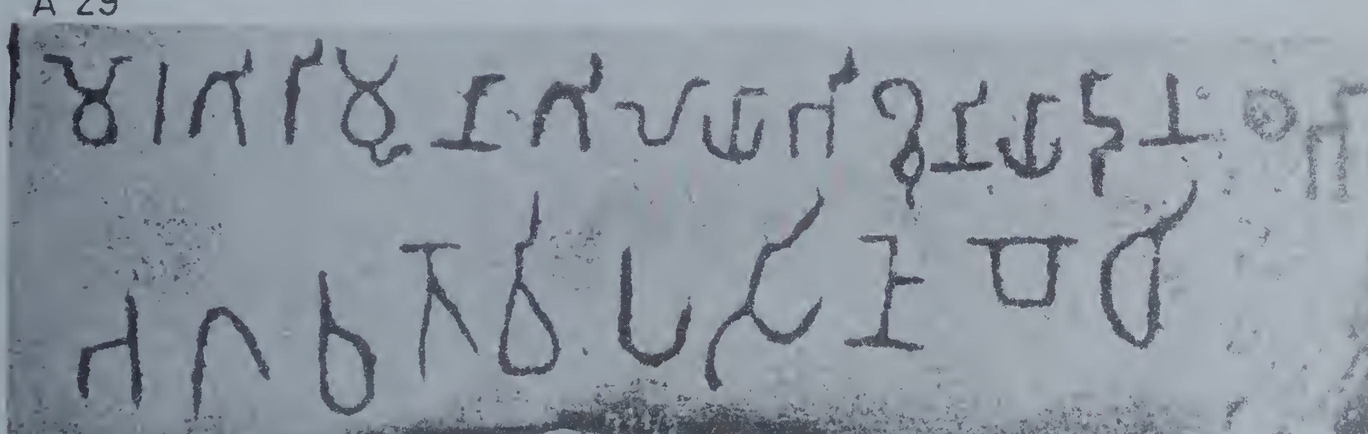
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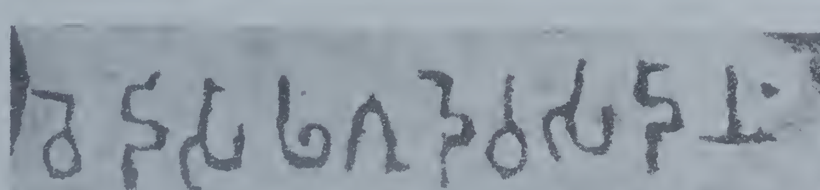


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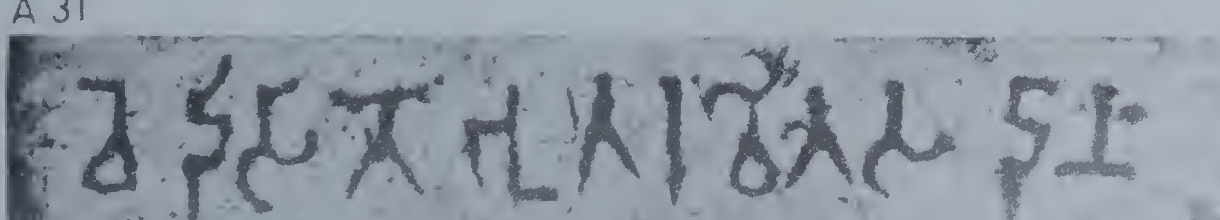


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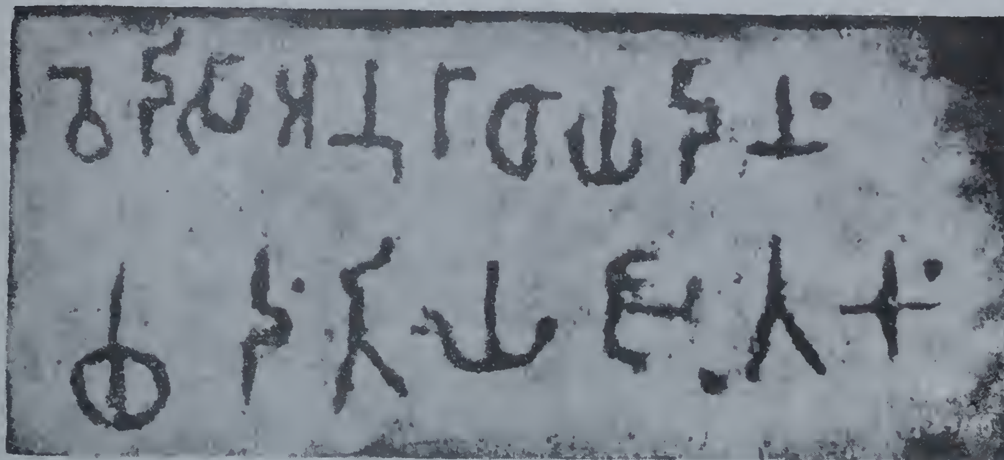
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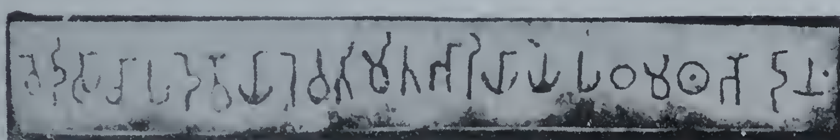
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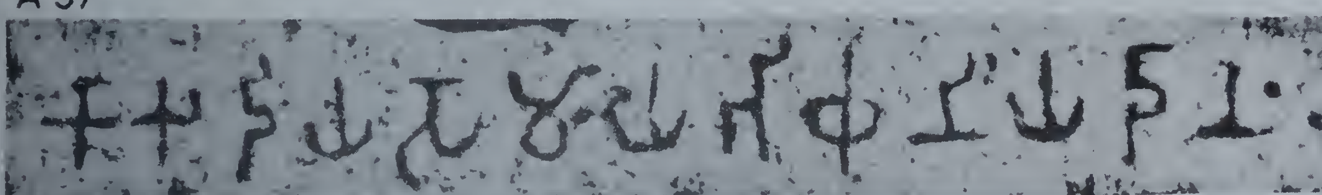


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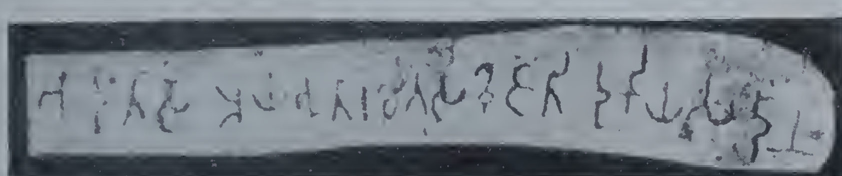
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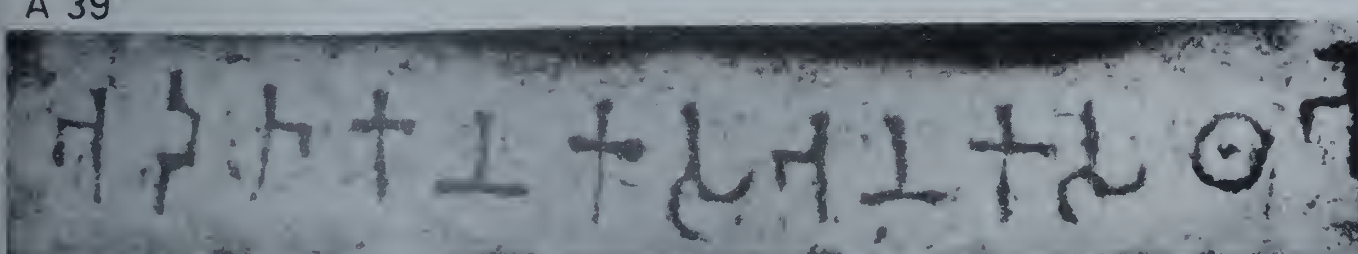
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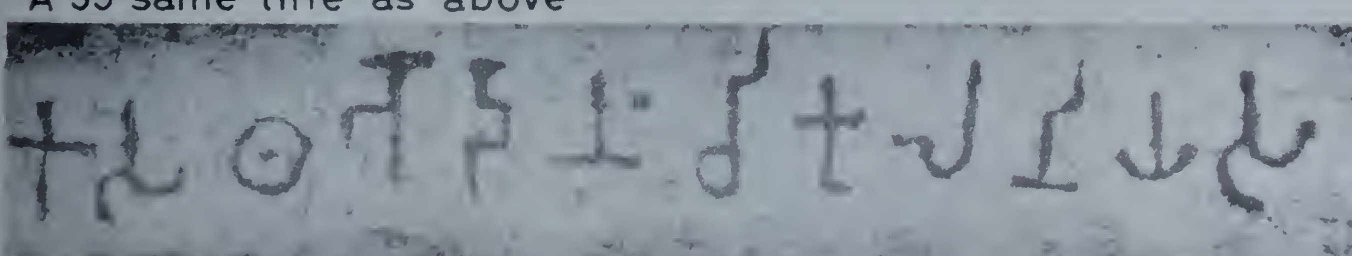
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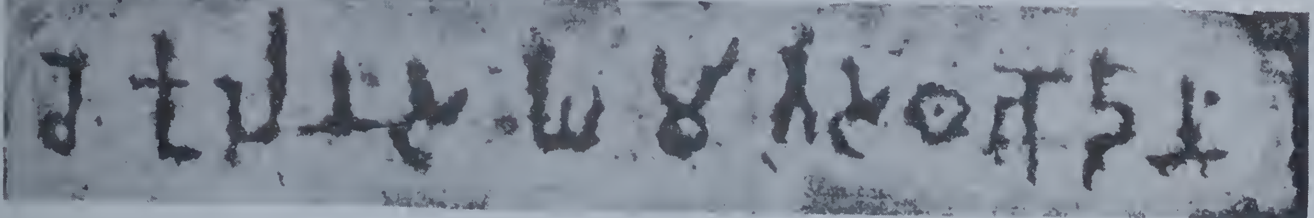


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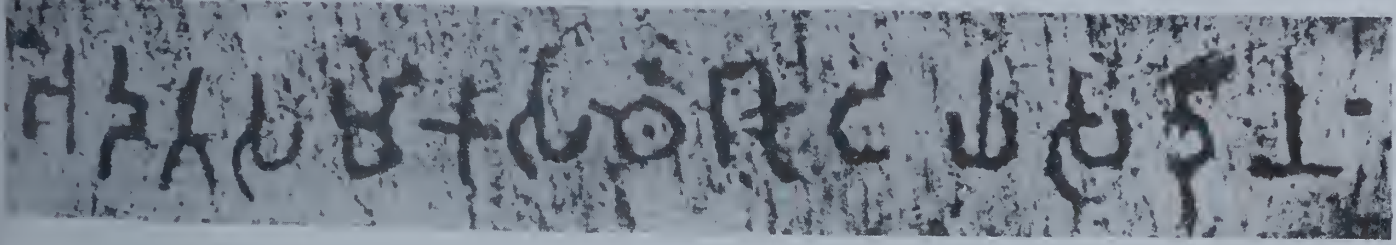


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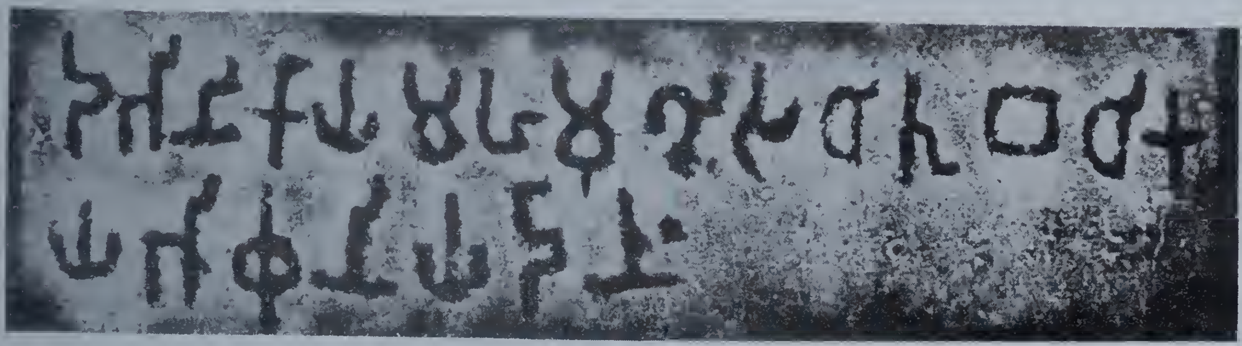
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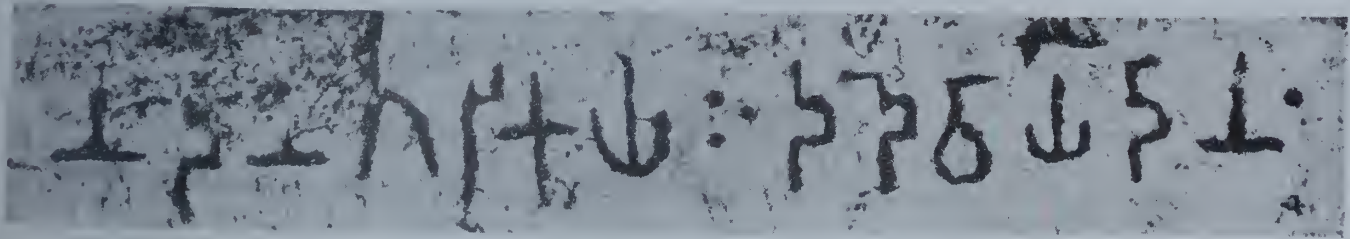
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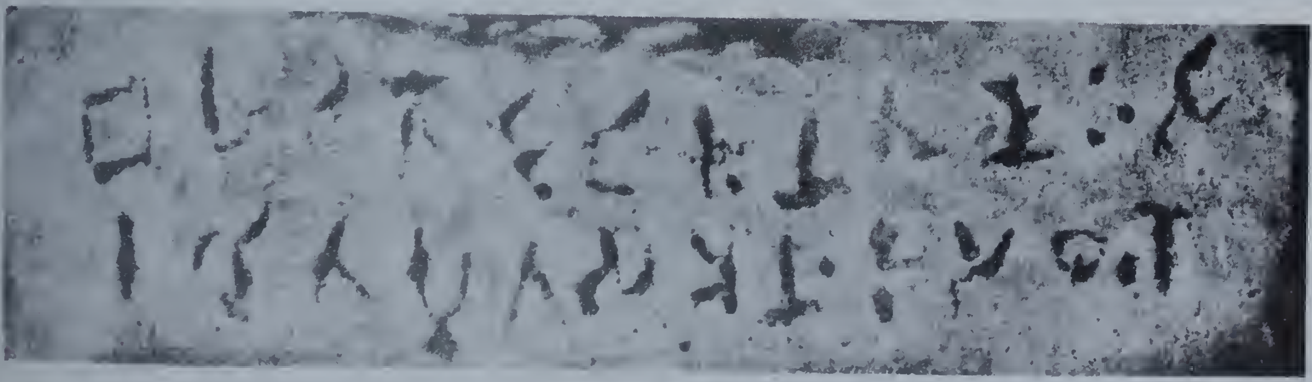
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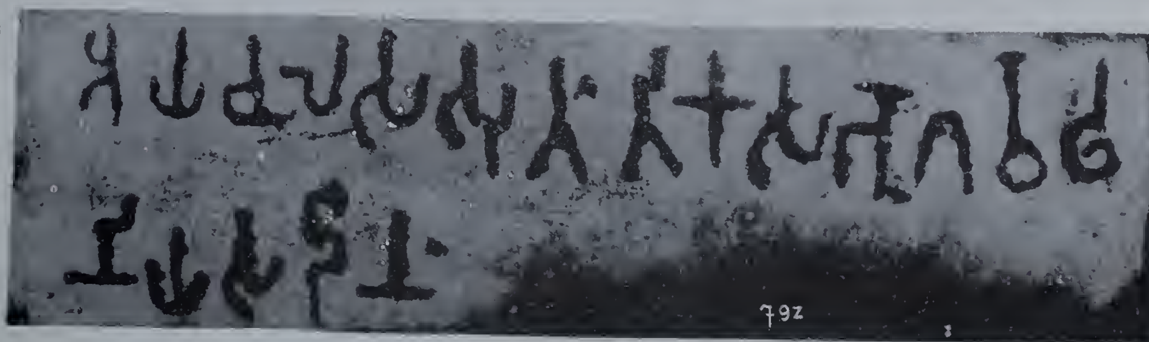
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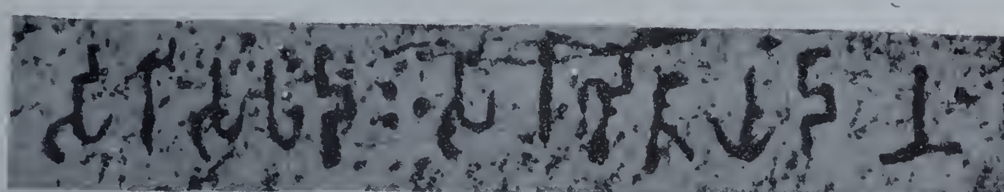
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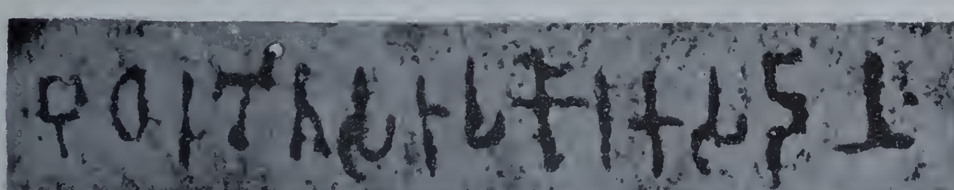
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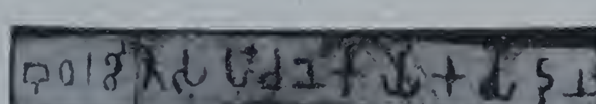
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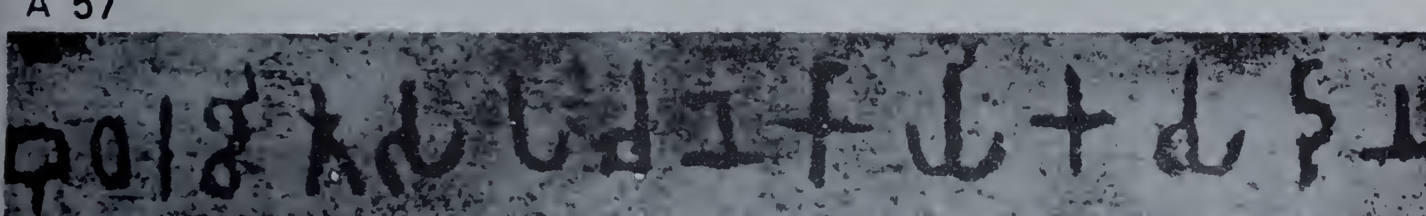
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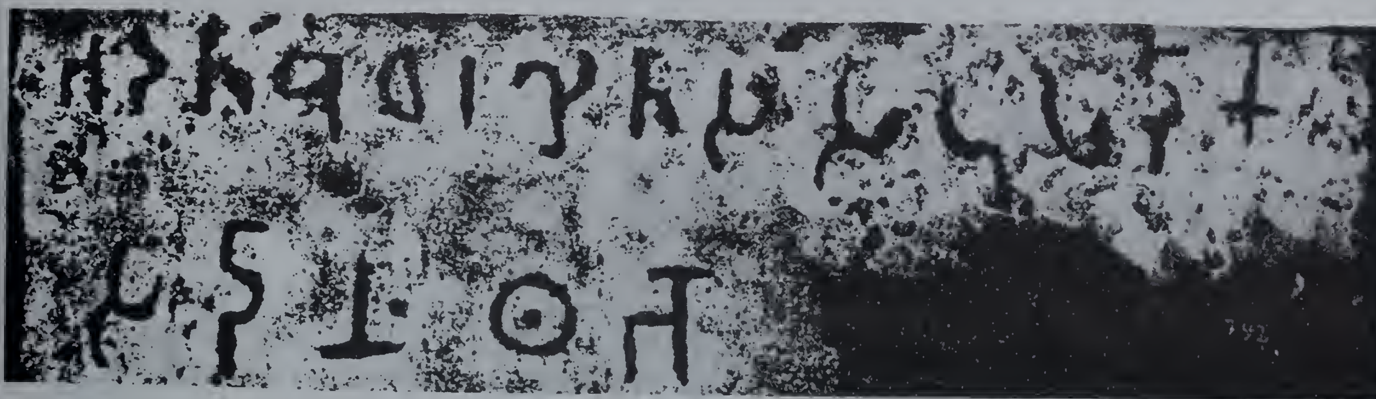
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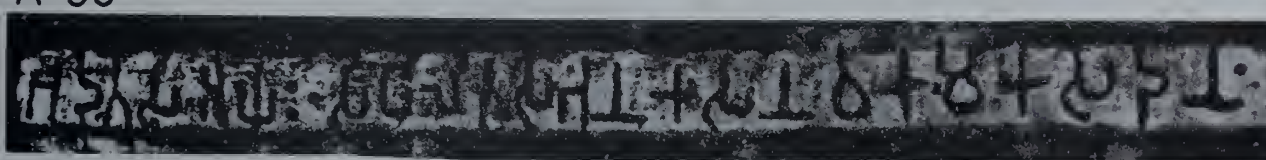
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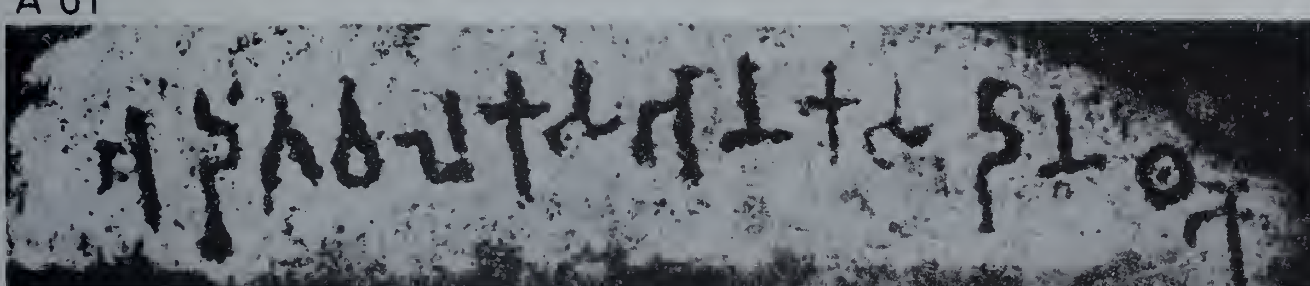
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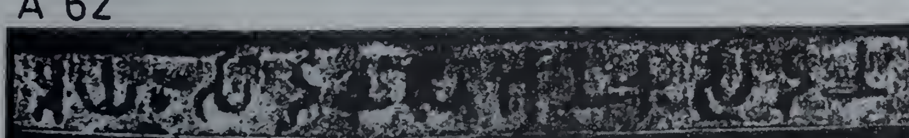
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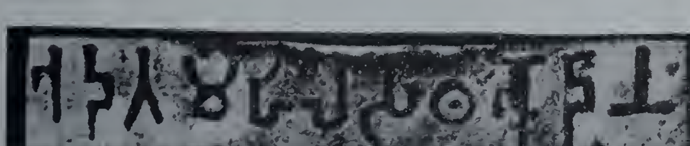
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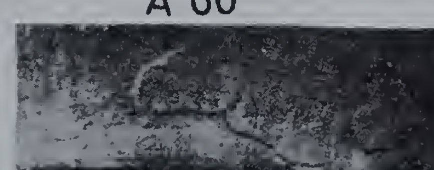
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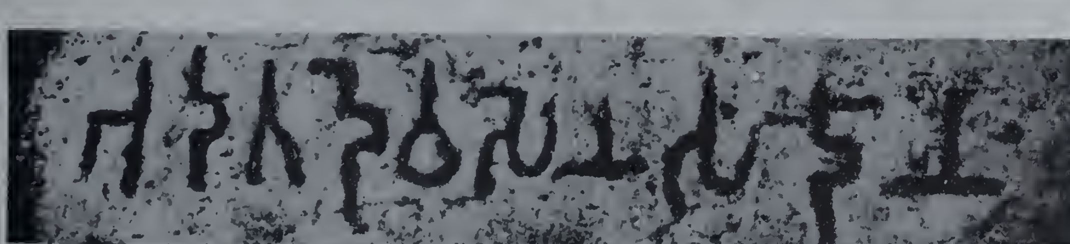
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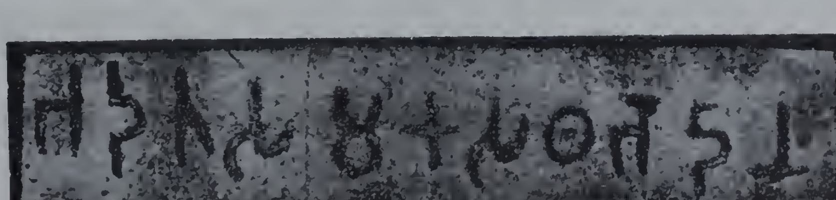
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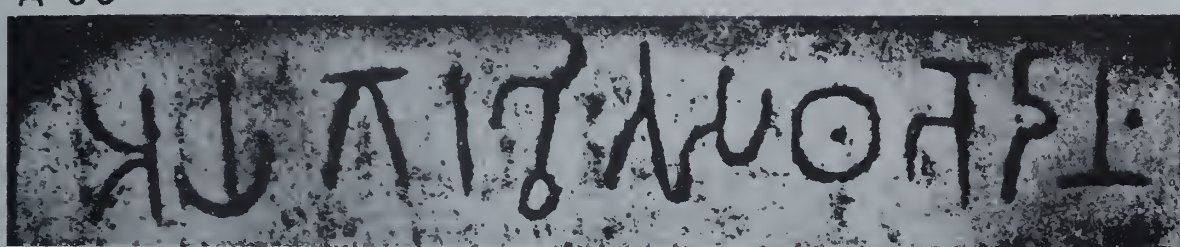
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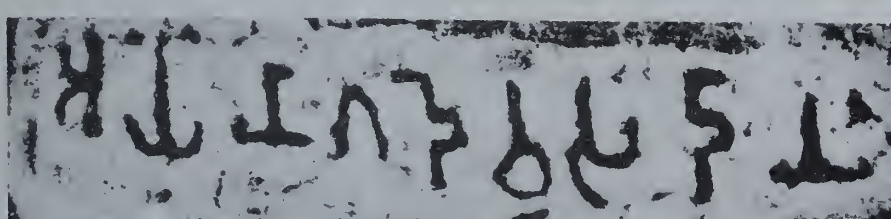
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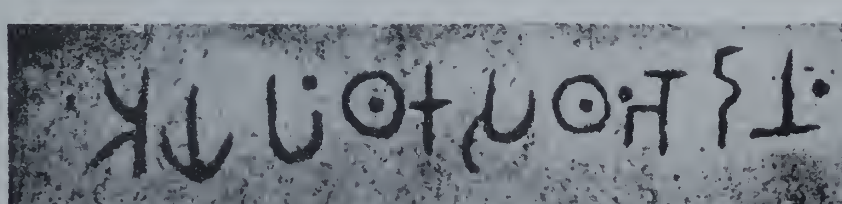
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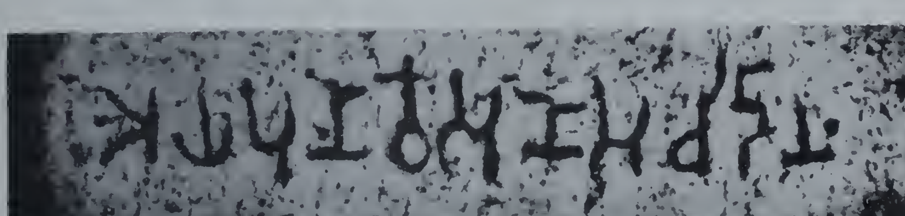
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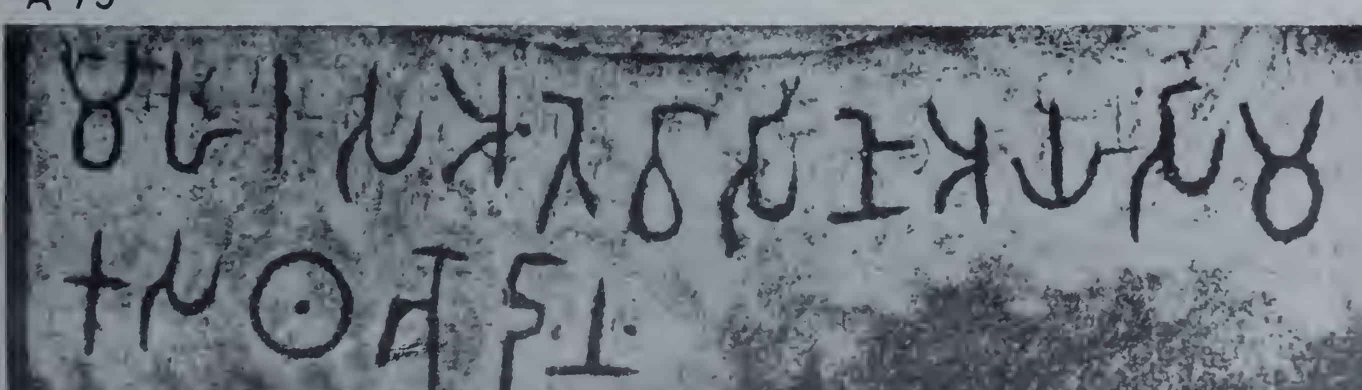
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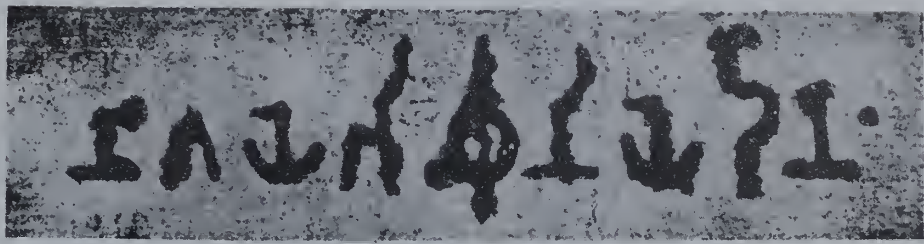
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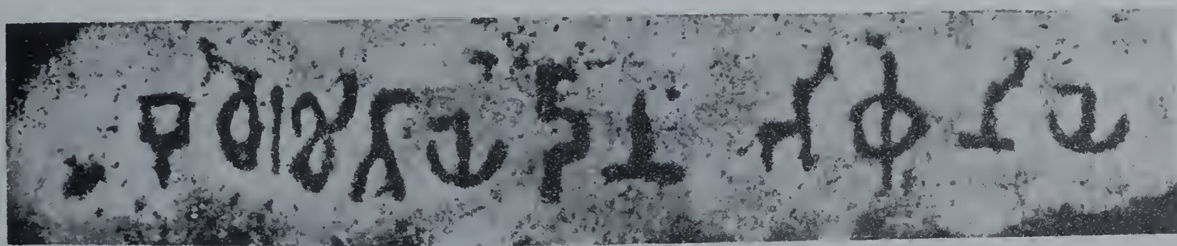
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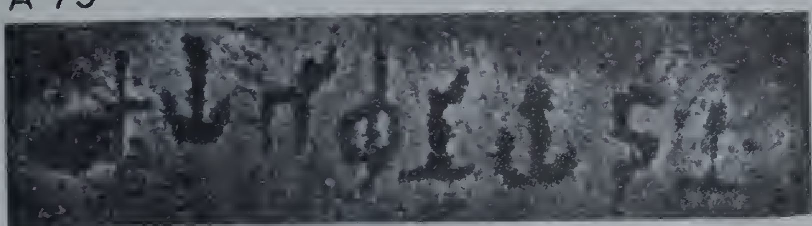
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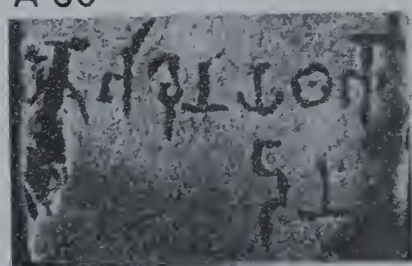
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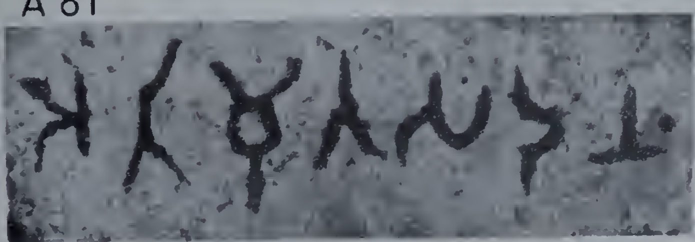
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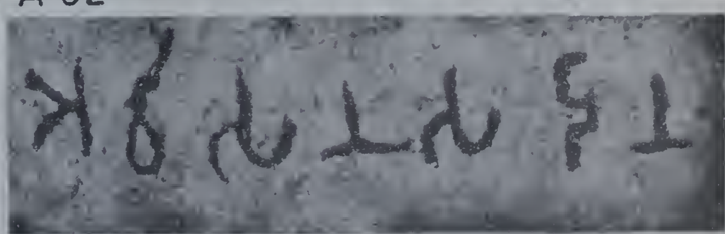
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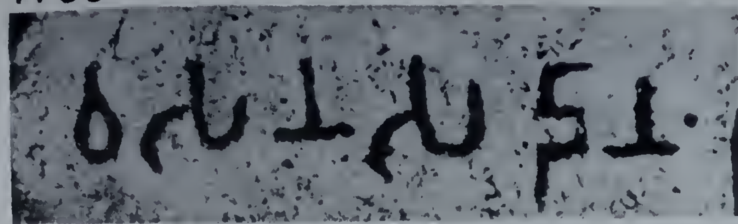
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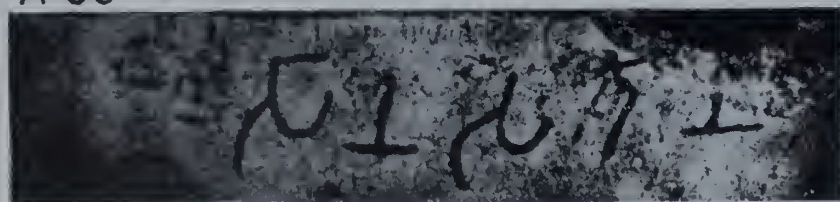
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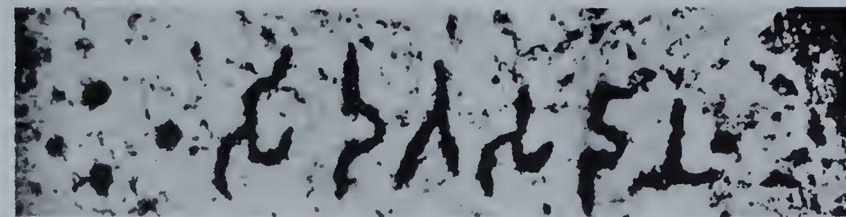
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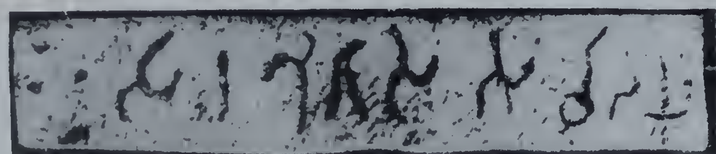
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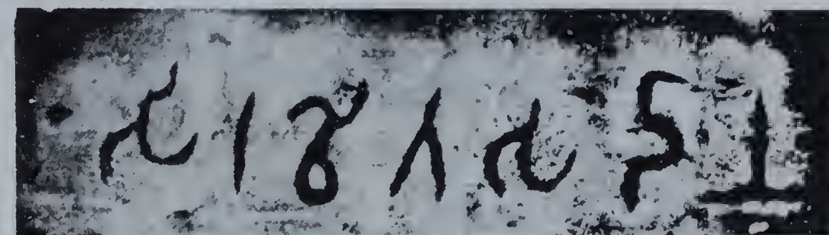
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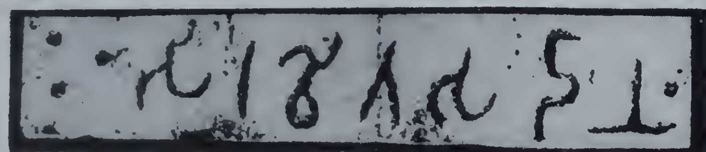
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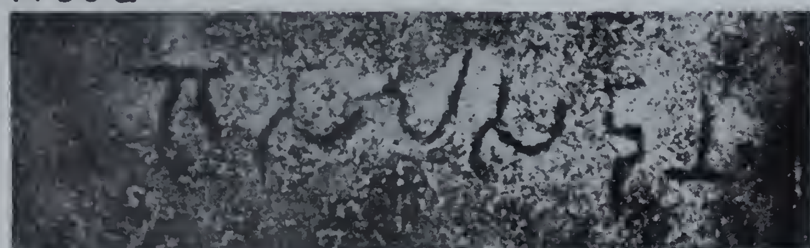
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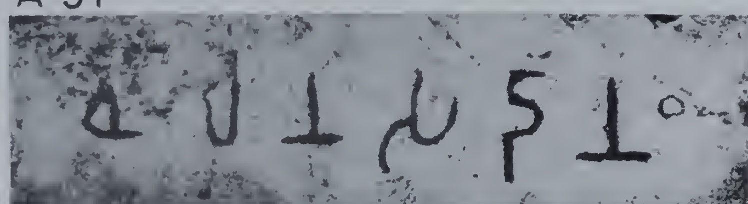
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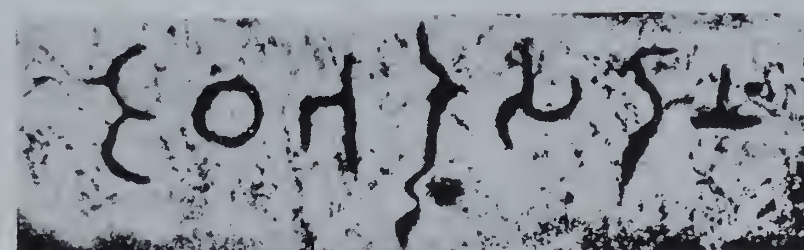
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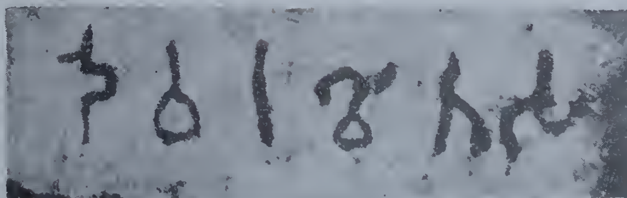
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REG. NO. 3977 E'36—1103 62.

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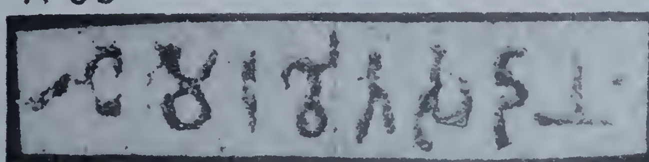
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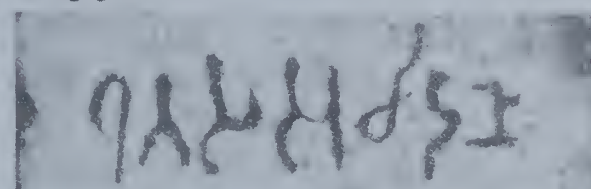
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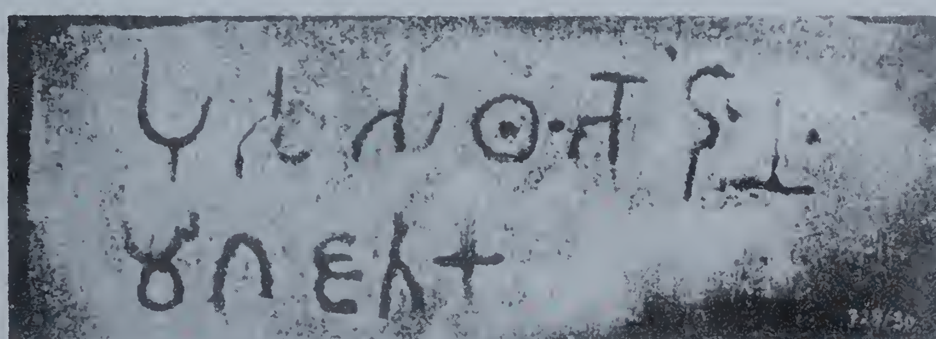


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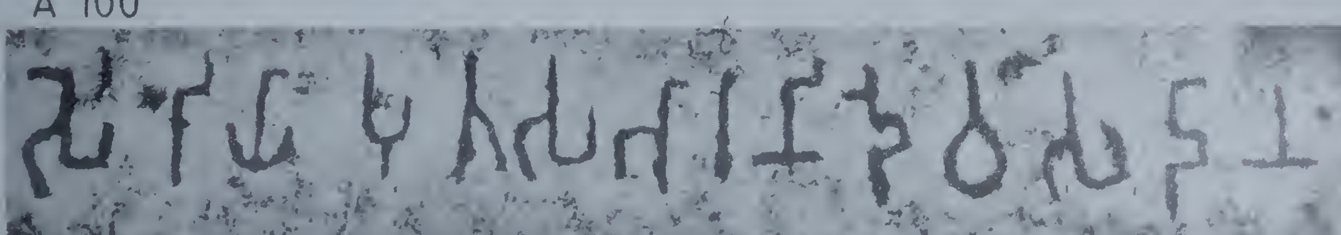
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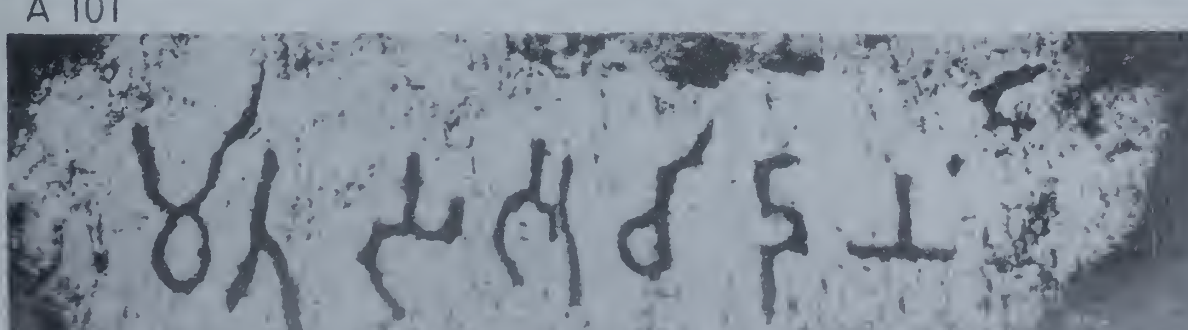
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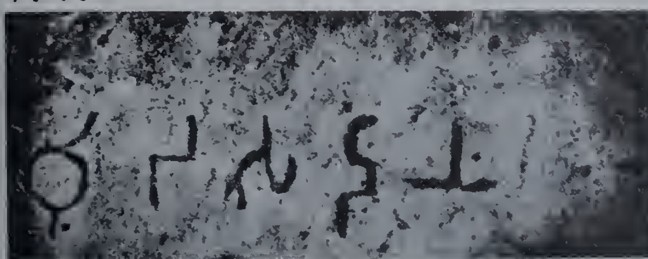
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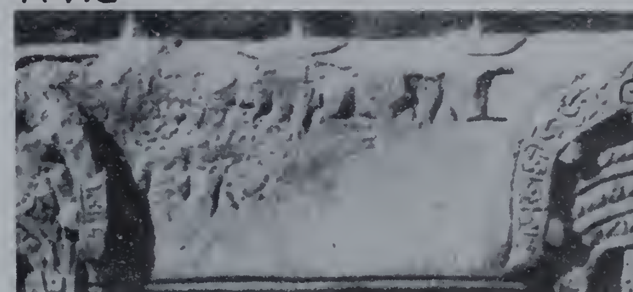
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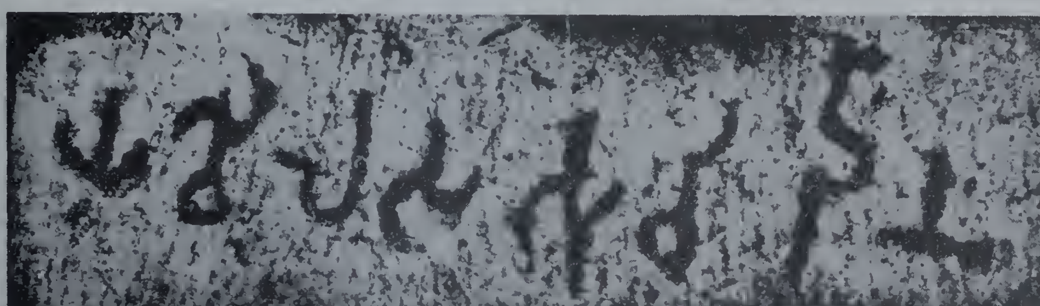
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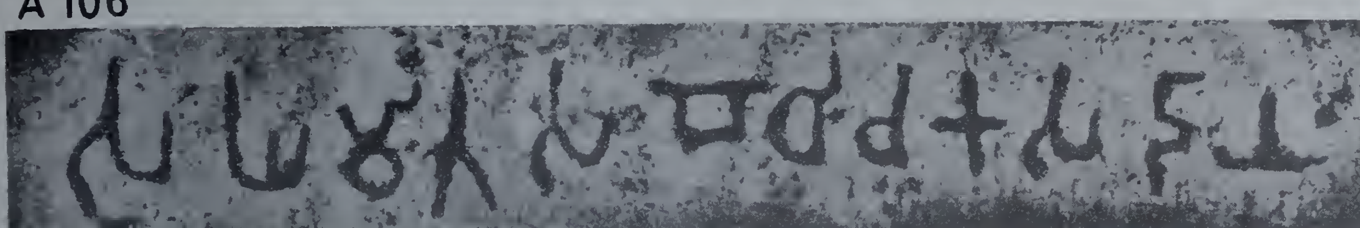
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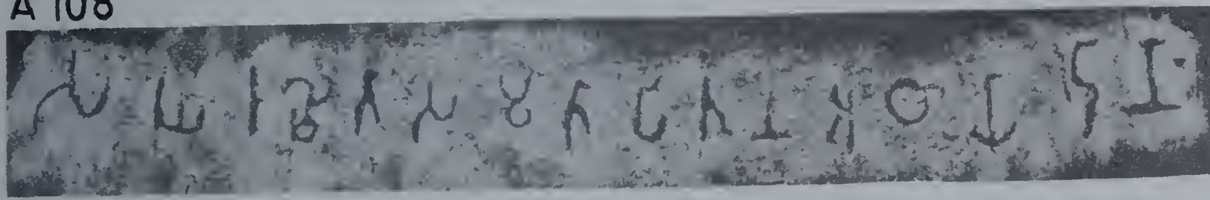
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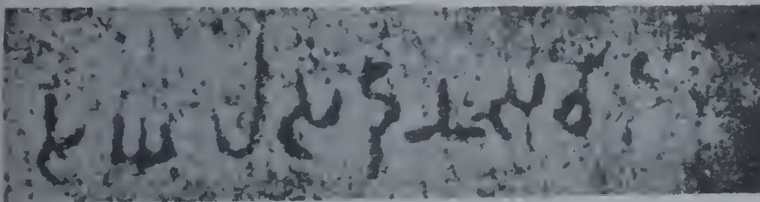
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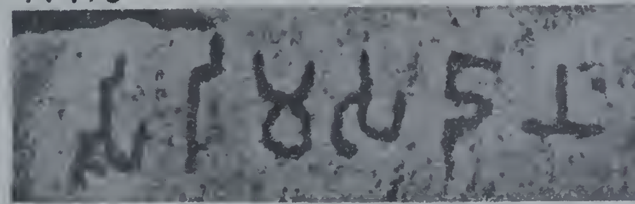
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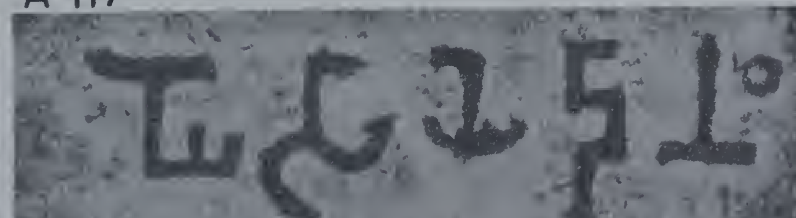
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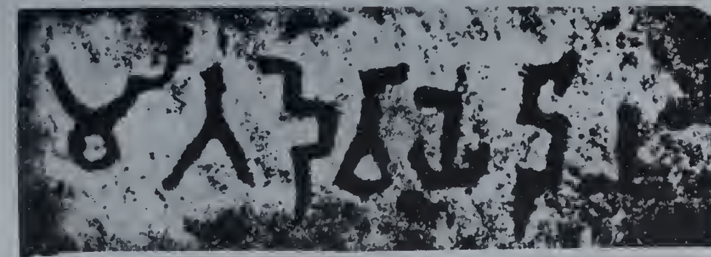
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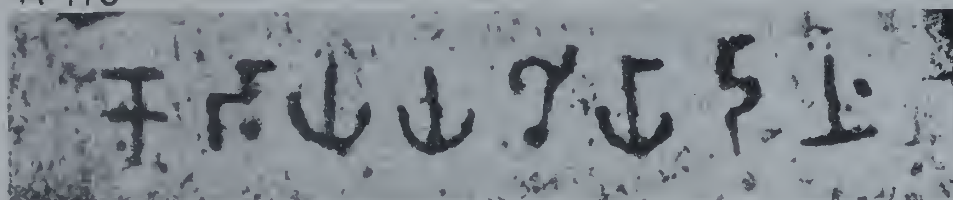
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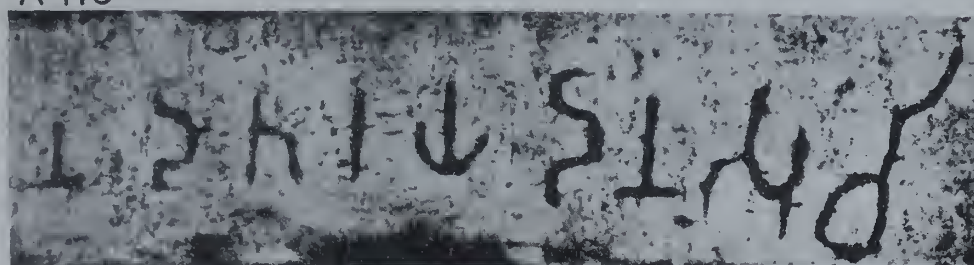
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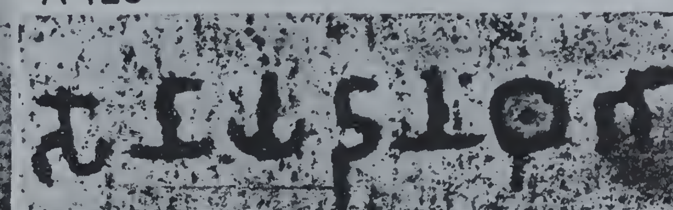
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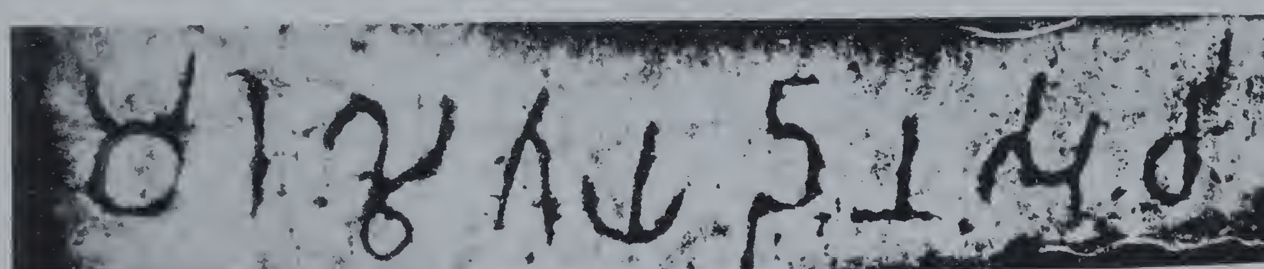
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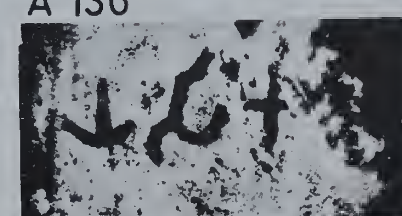
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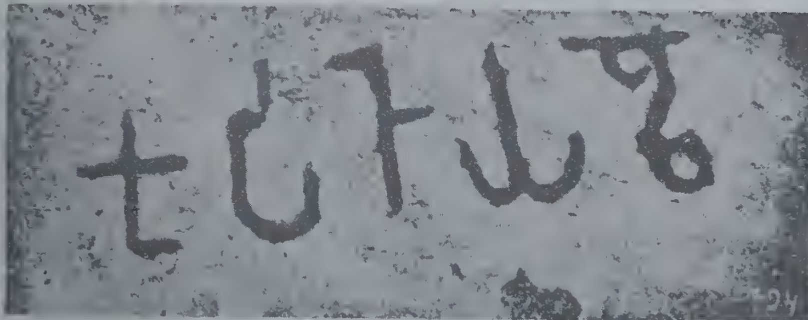
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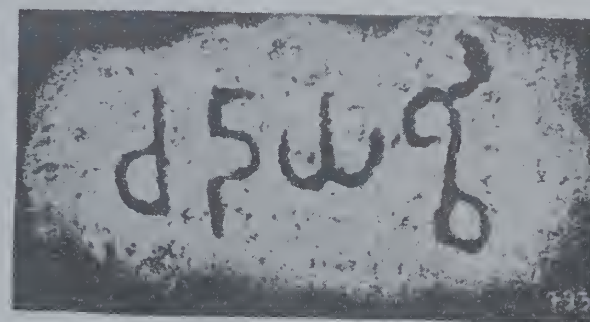
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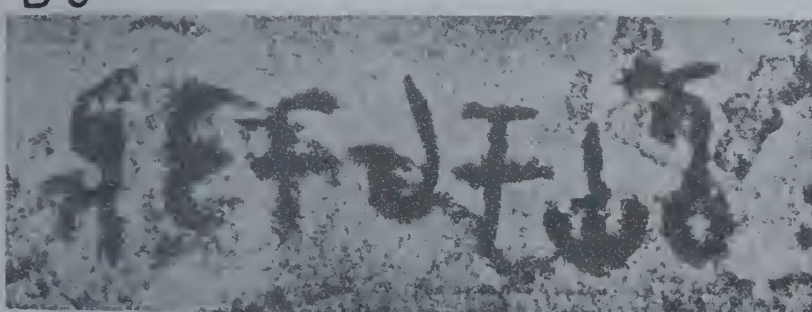
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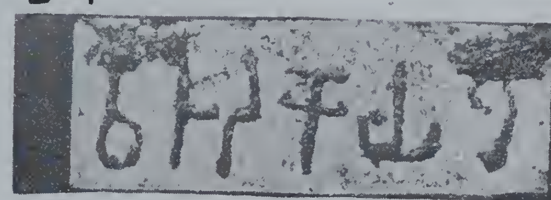
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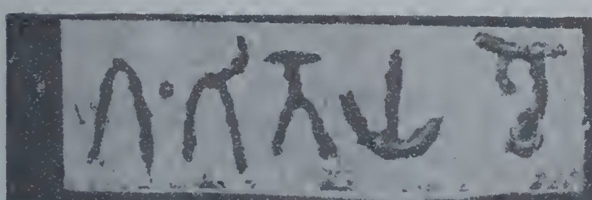
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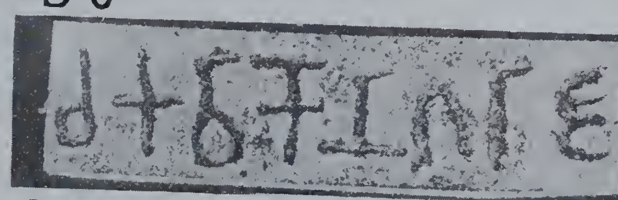
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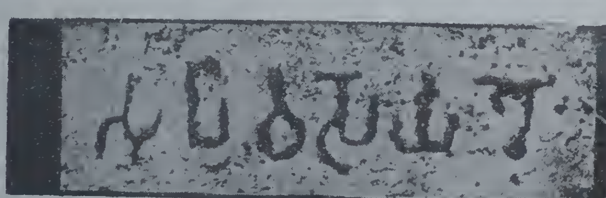
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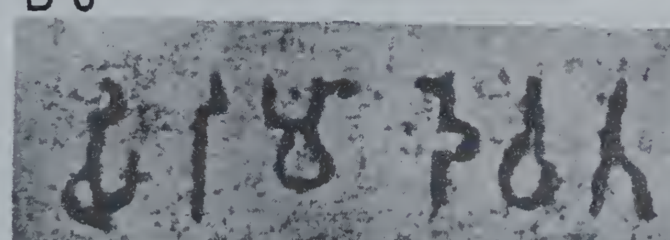
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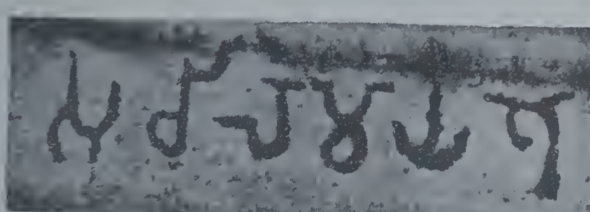
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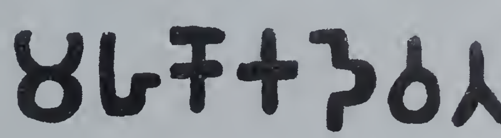
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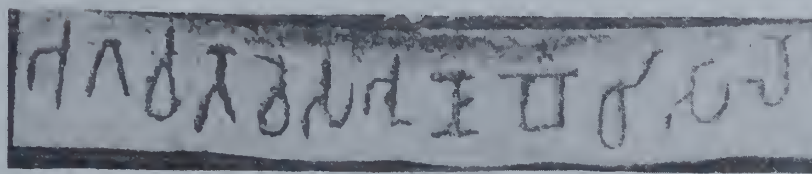


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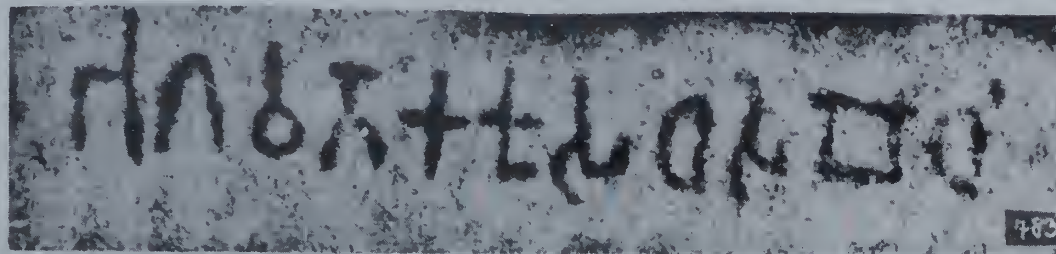


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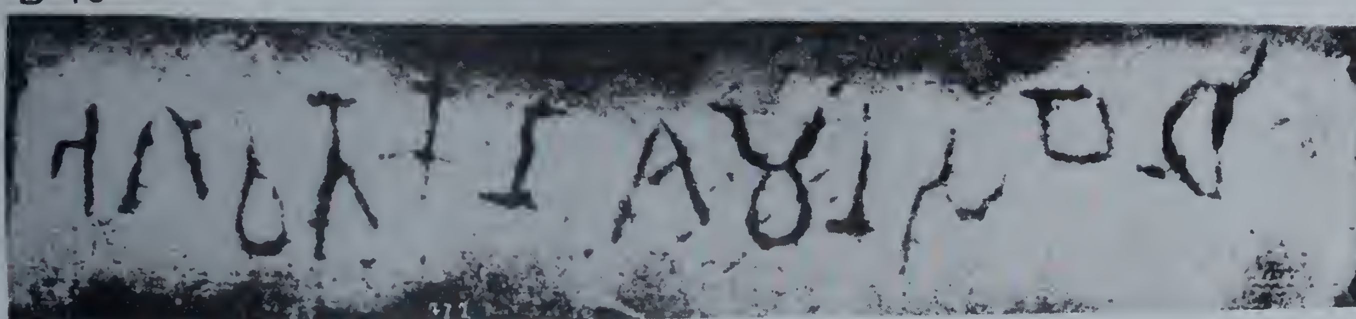
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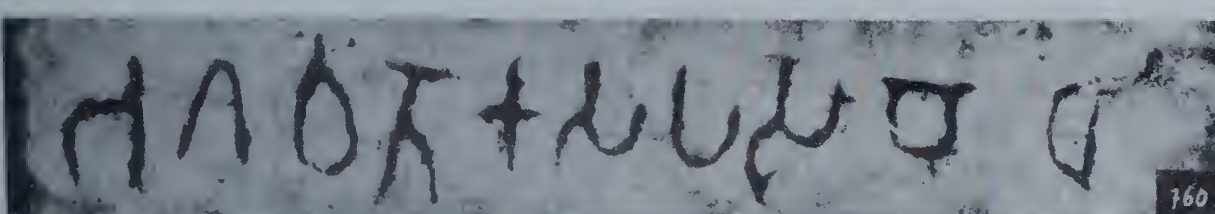
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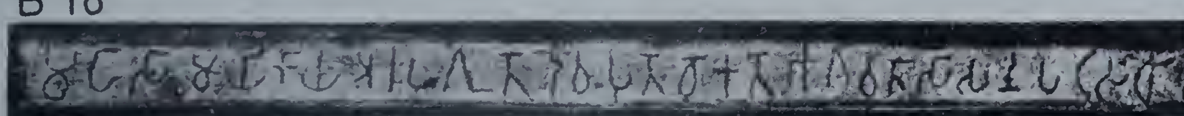
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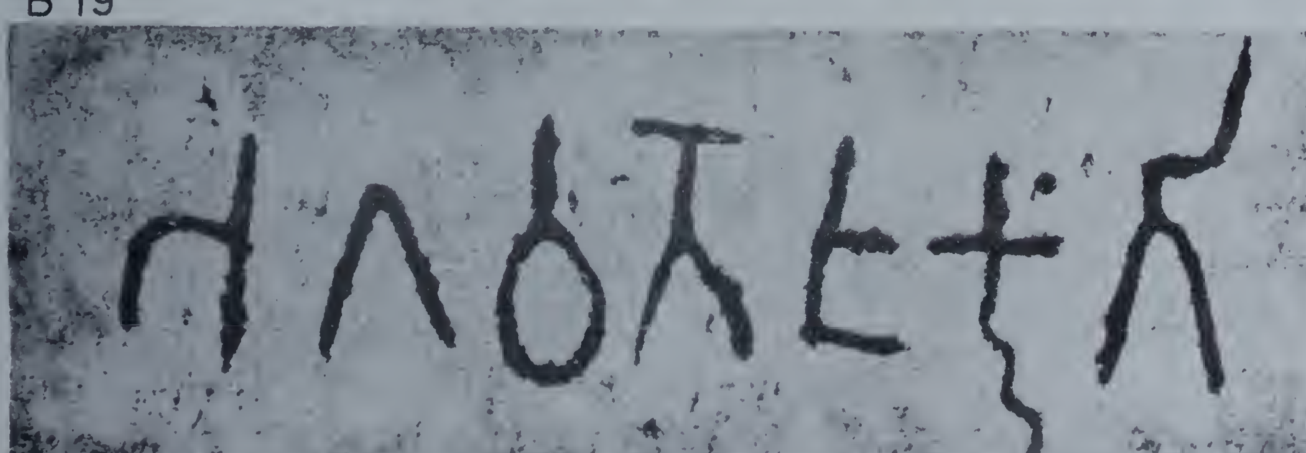
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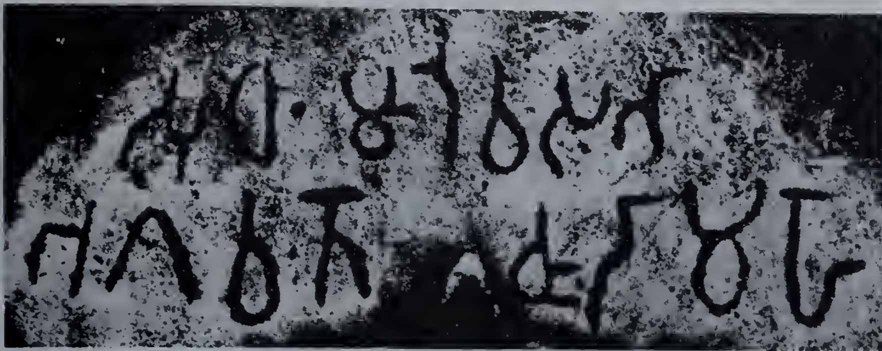


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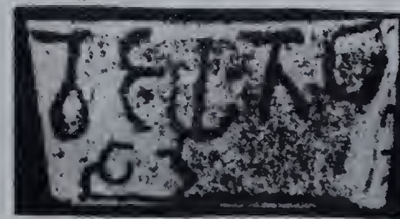


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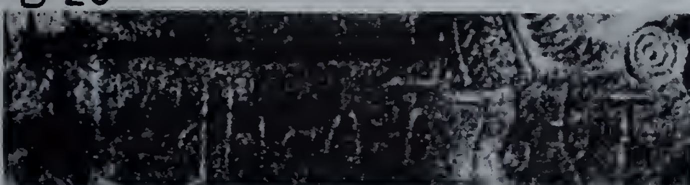
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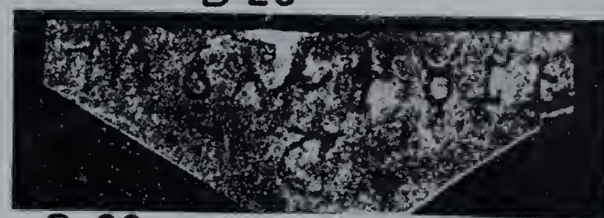
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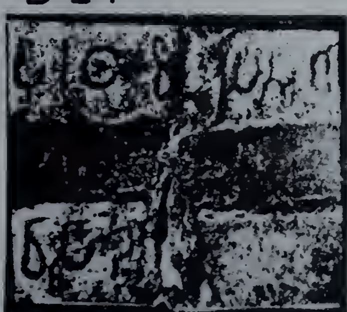
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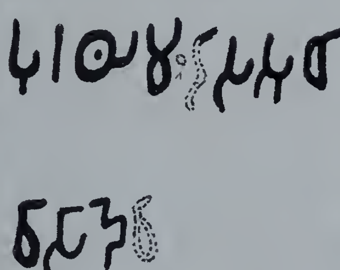
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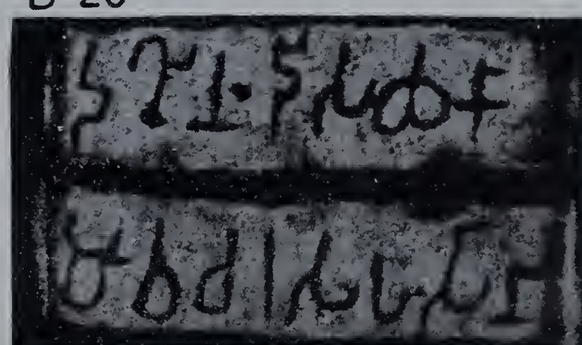
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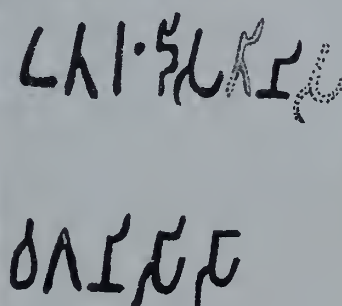
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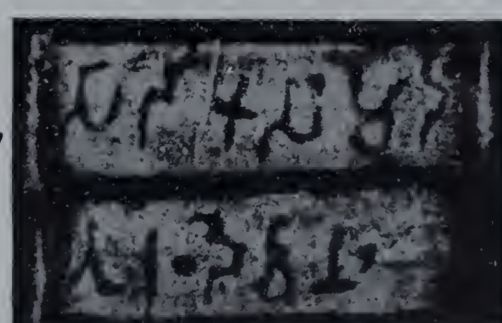
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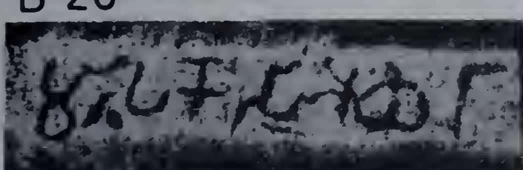
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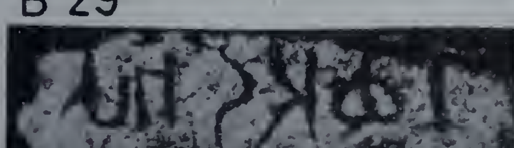
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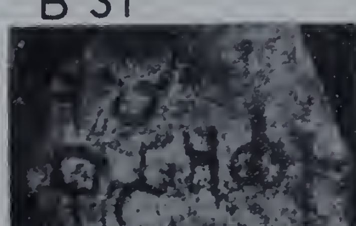
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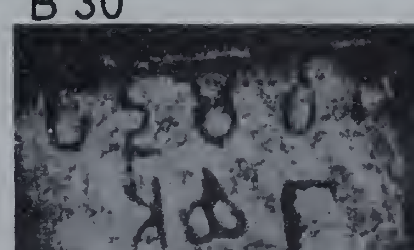
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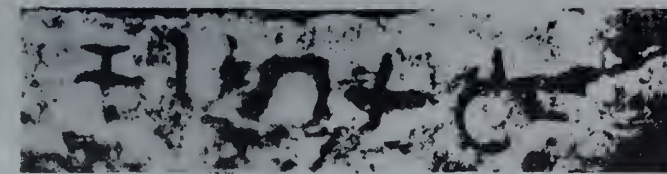


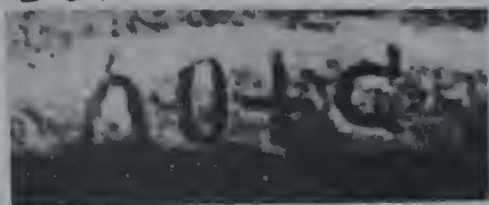
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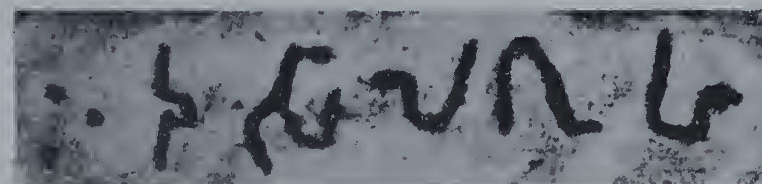


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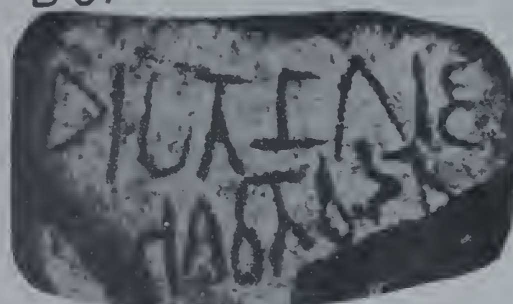
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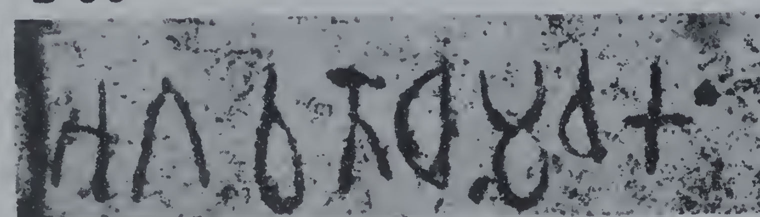


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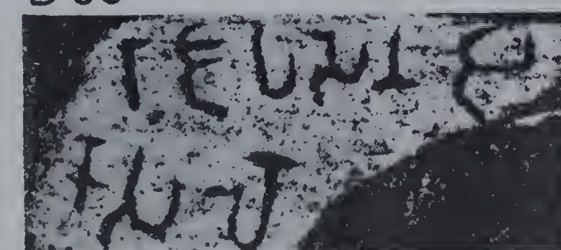
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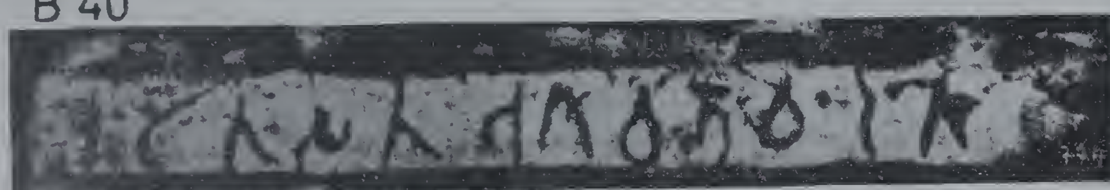
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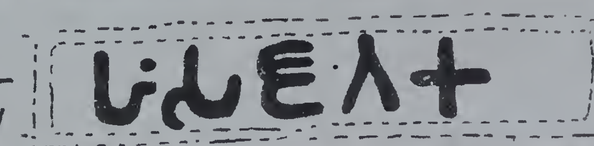
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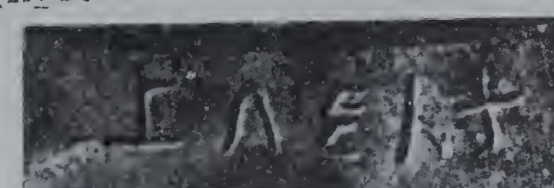

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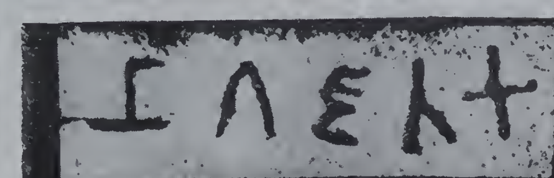
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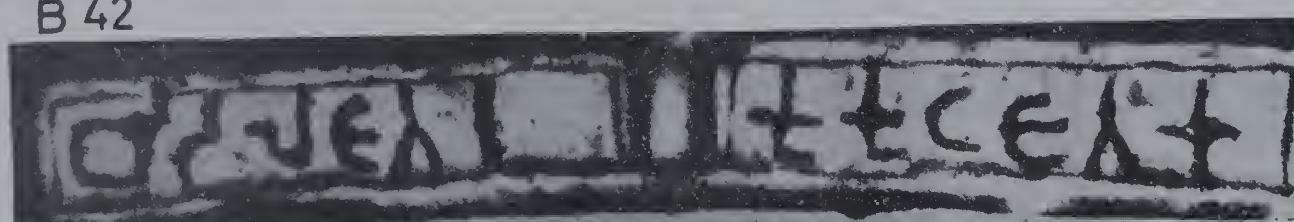
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B 40


B 41 eye-copy


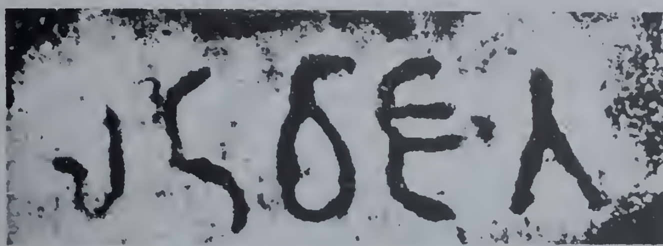
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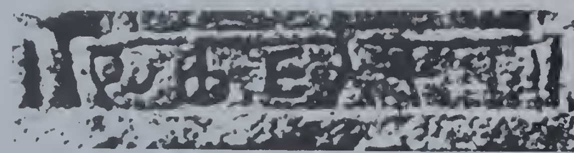
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B 44



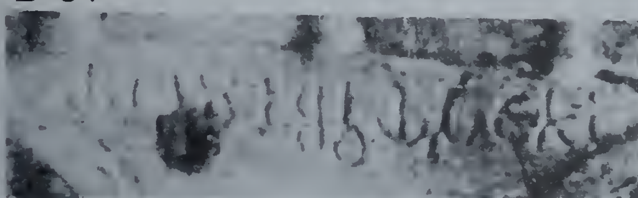
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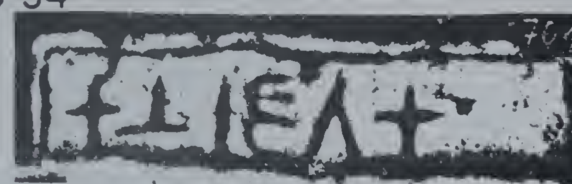
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B 51



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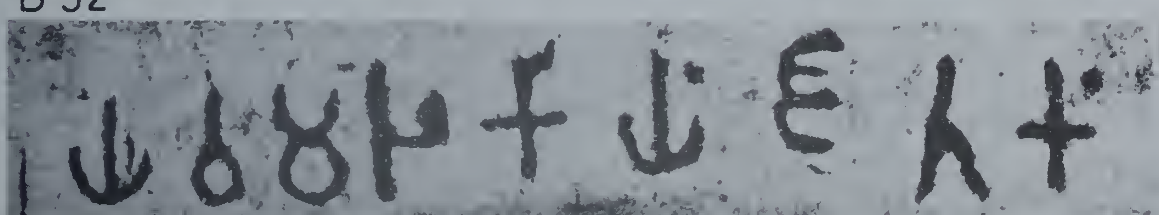
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B 52



B 53



B 55



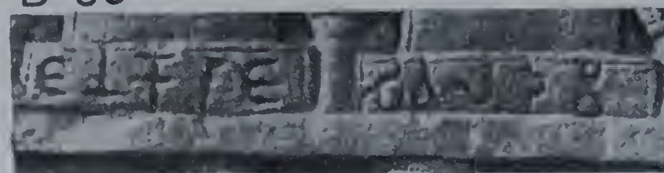
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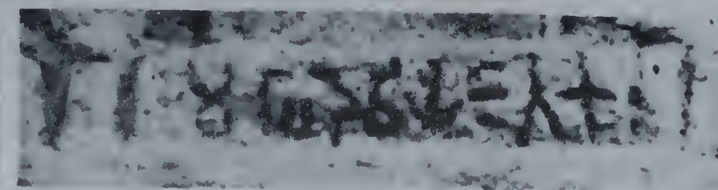
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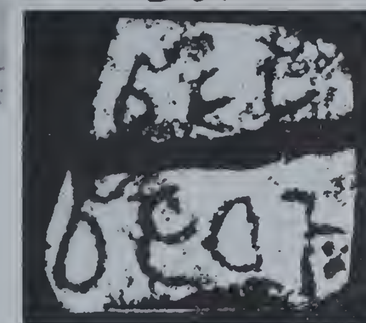
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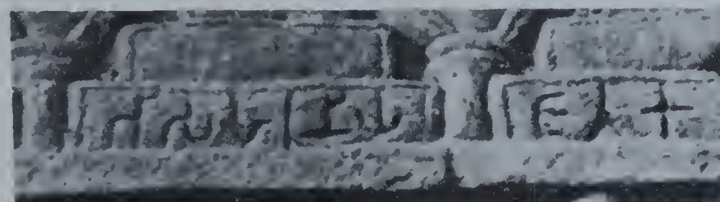
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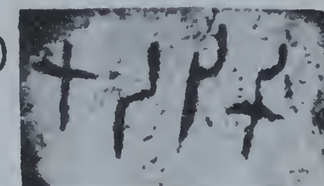
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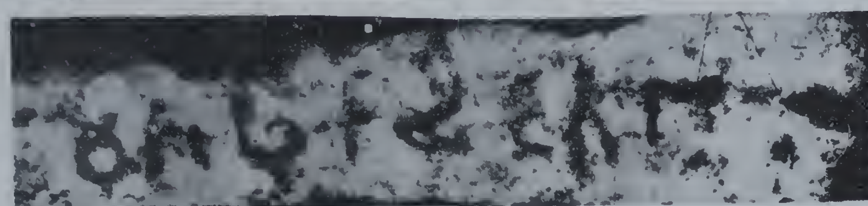
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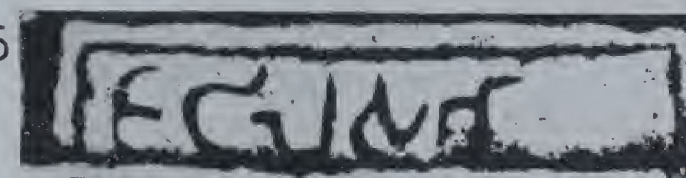
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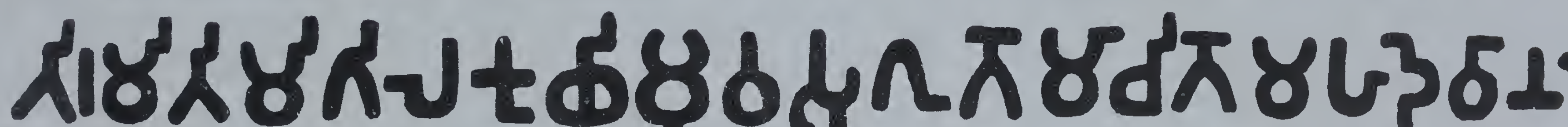
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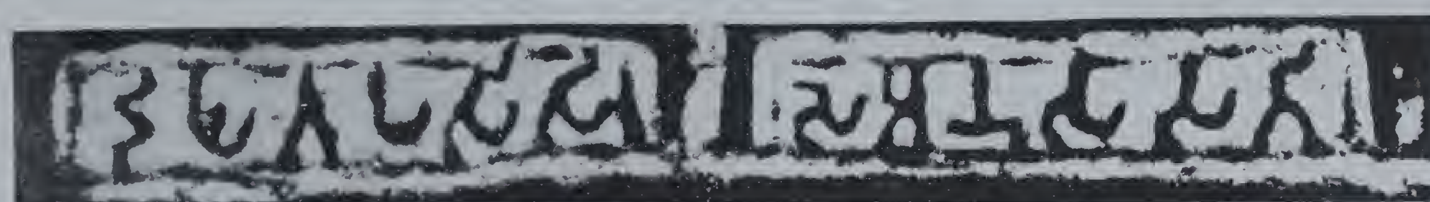


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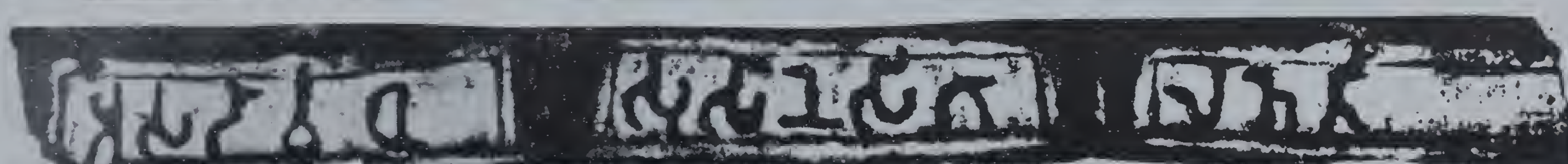


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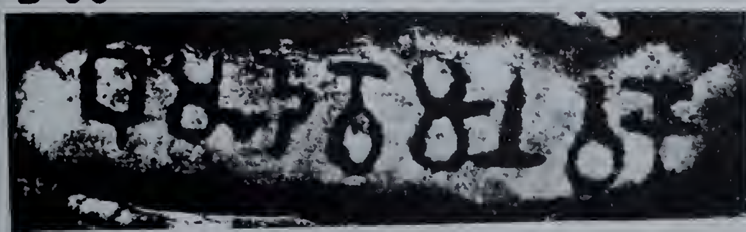


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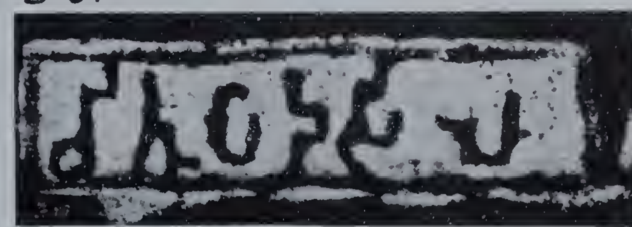


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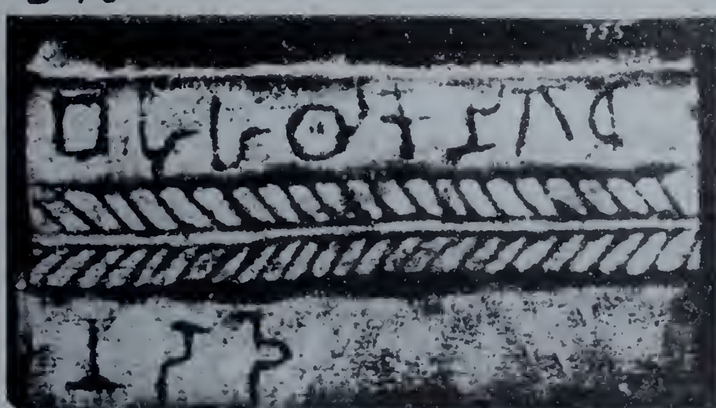
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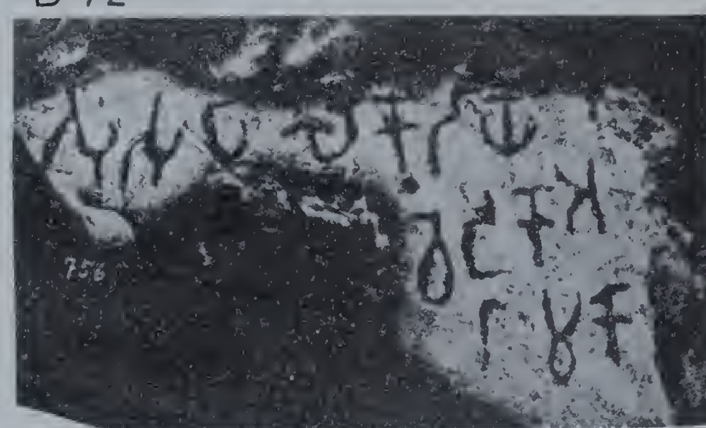
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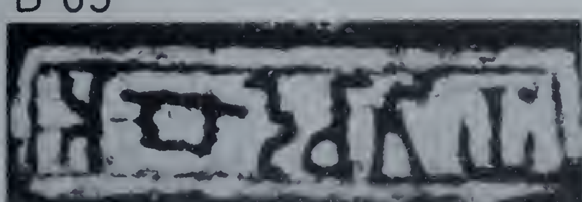
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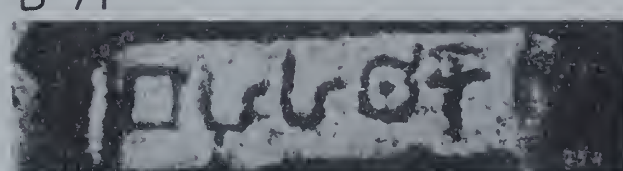
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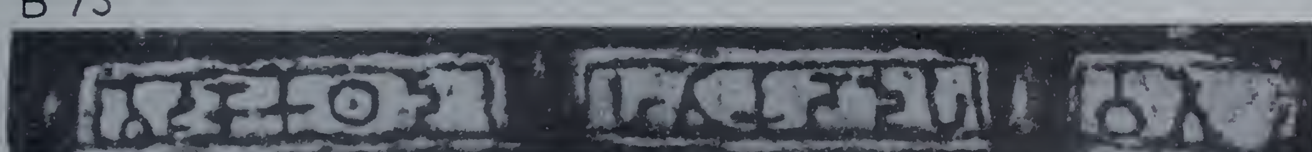
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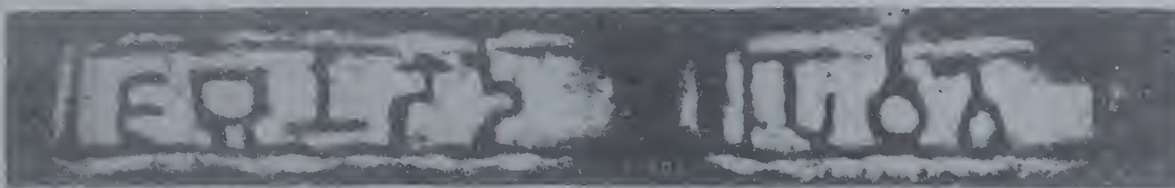
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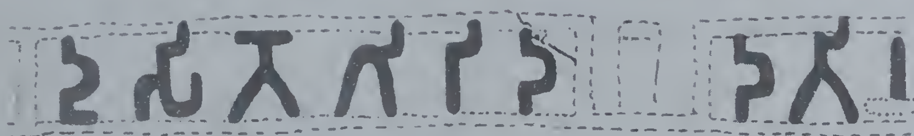
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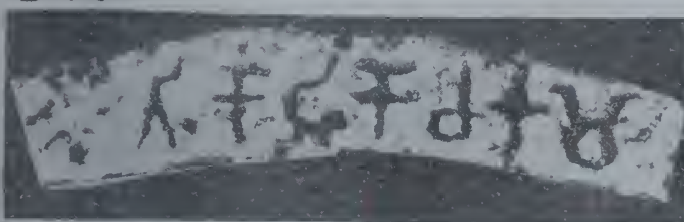
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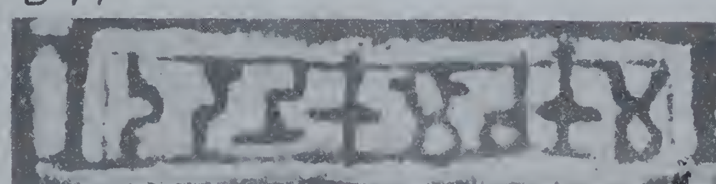
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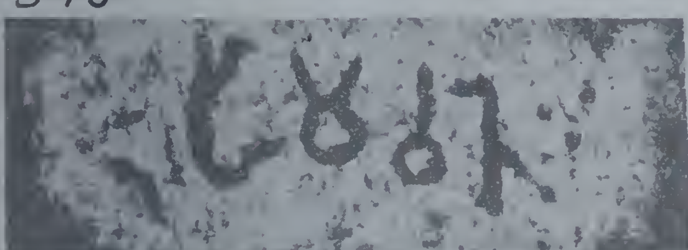
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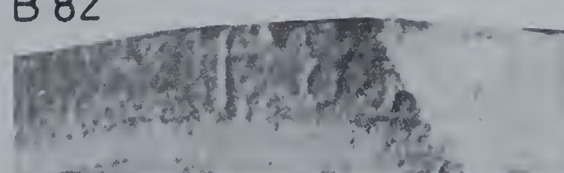
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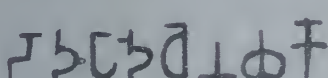
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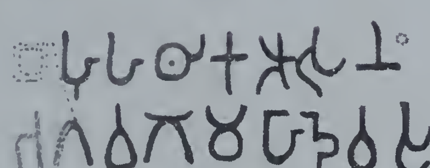
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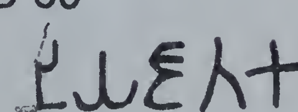
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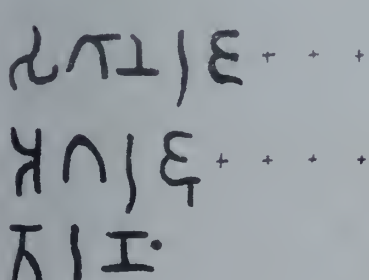
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B 80



A 2



A 7

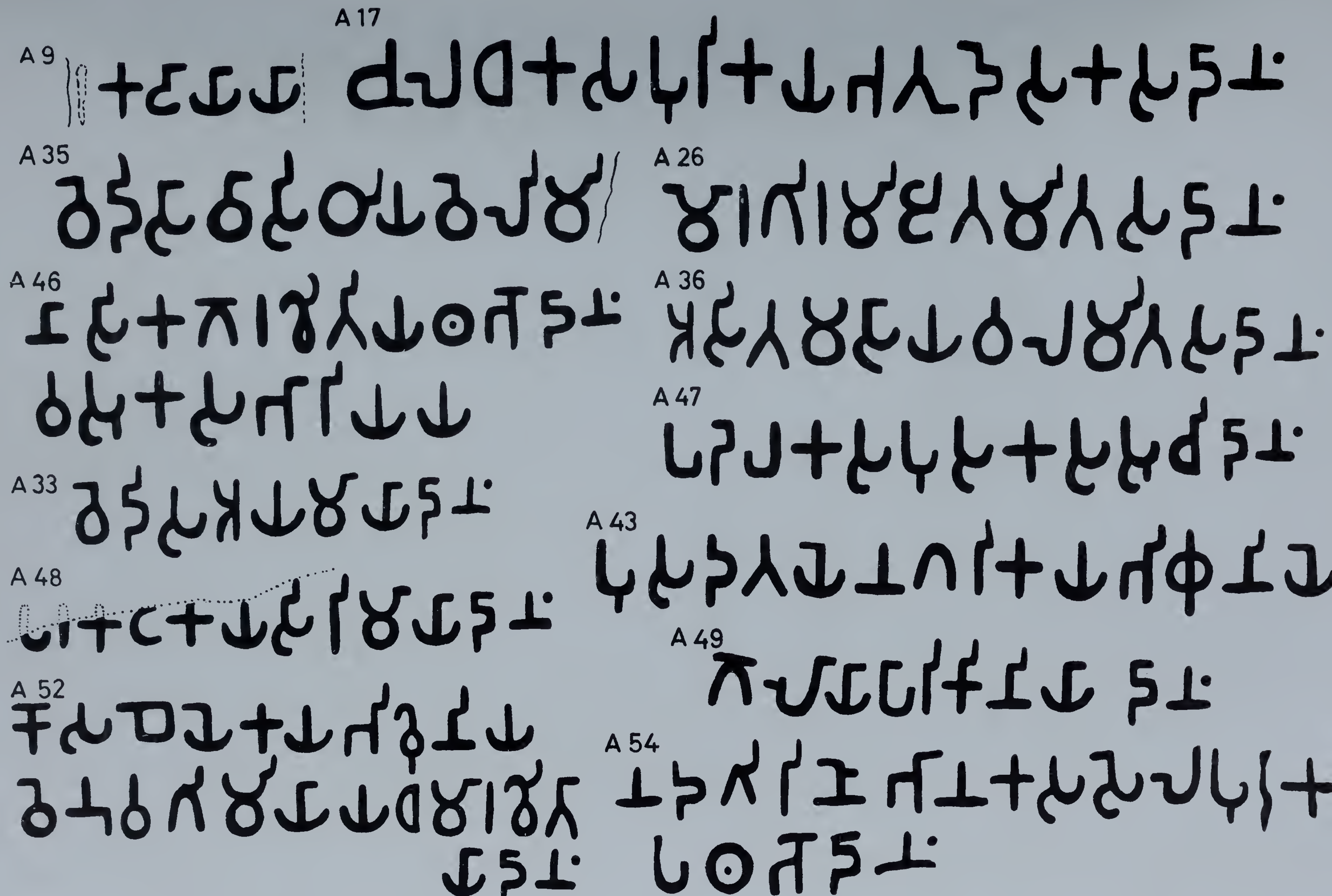


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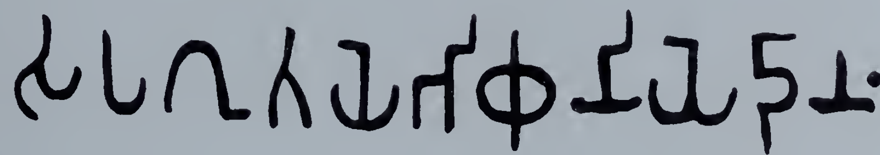
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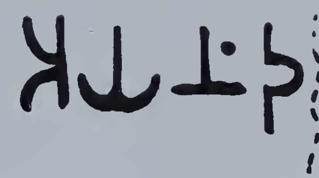


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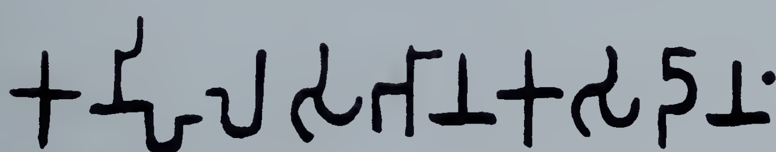
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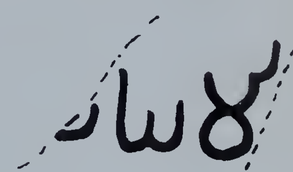
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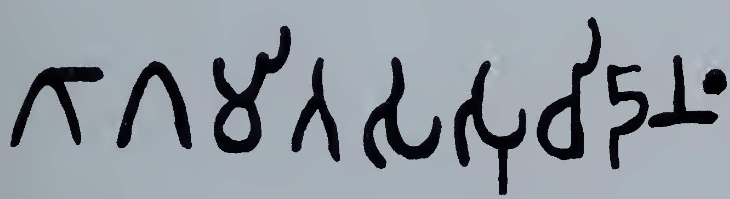
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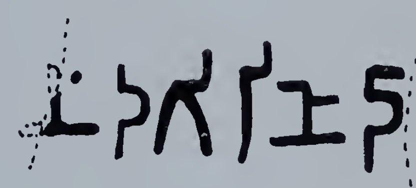
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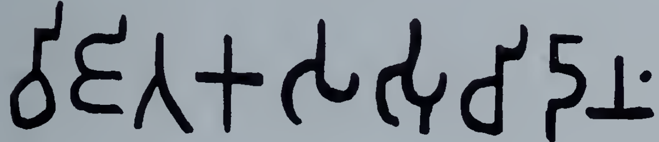
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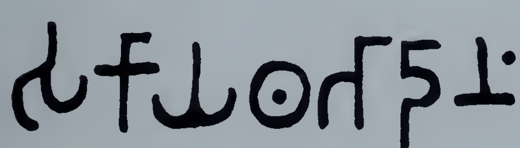
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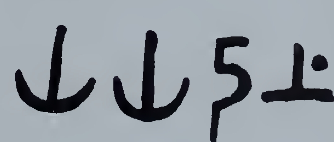
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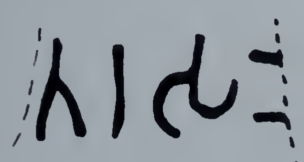
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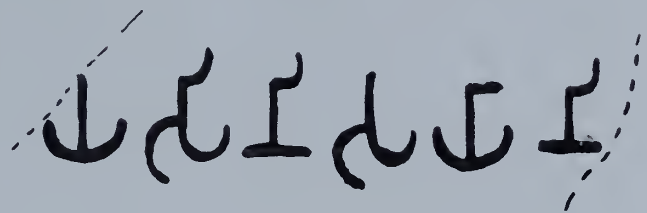
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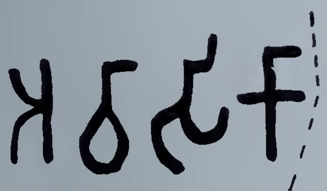
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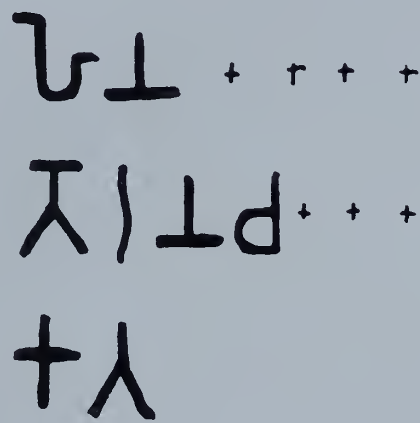
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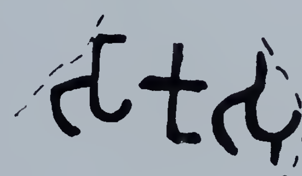
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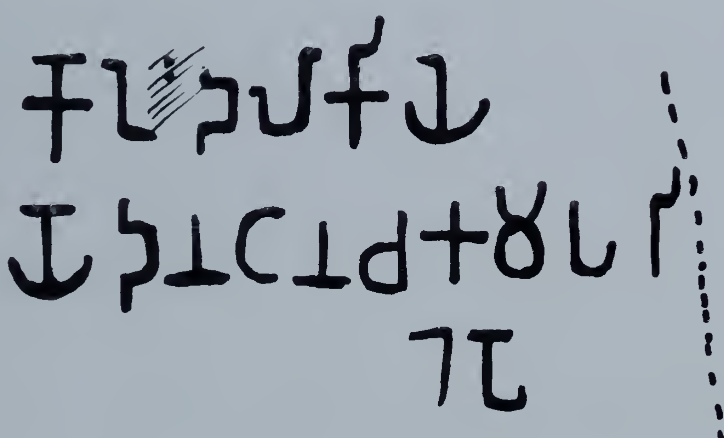
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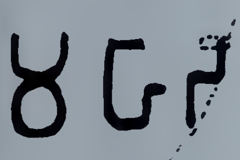
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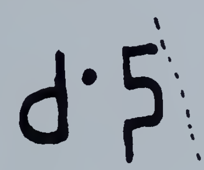
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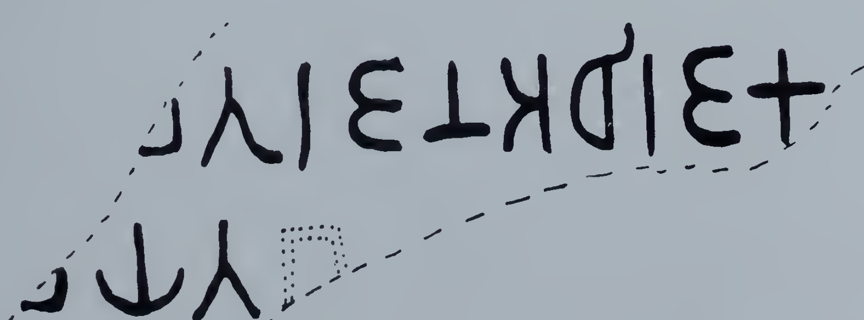
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A 128



A 130



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A 34



A 54b

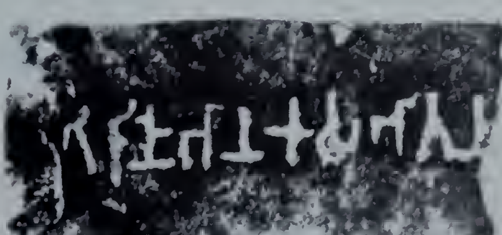
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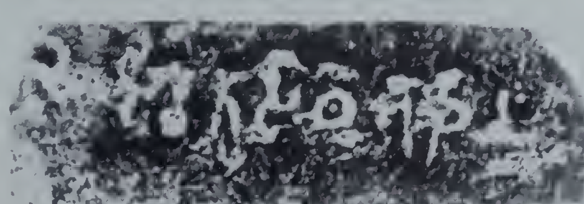
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A 54a



A 87a

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B 2



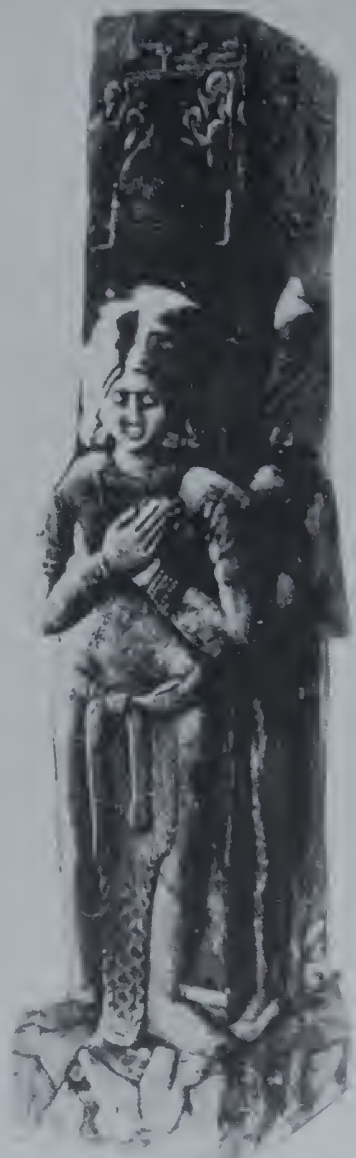
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B 3

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B 4



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B 5

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A 65



B 8



B 9



B 7

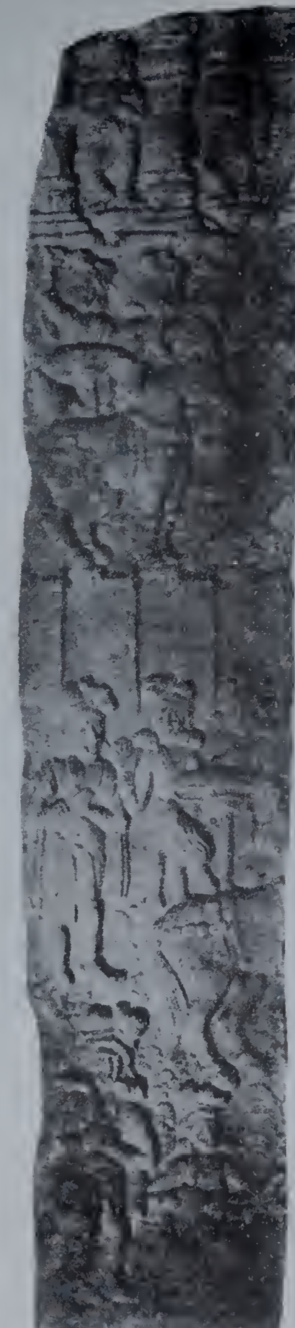
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B 10 A 39


B 11 A 71


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B 20

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B 13



B 14 A 38



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B 16



B 17 A 40

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B 21 B 22

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B 23



B 27-31



B 24-26

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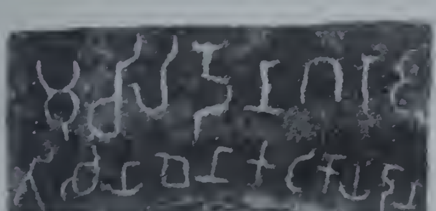
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B 31a A 49a

B 36-39 A 62

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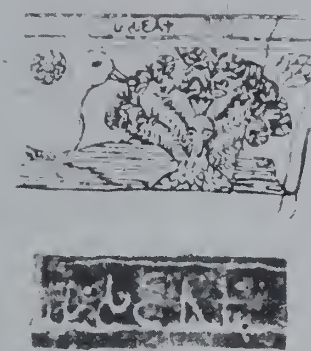
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B 41



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B 41



B 43



B 44 A 119



B 45

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B 42a





B 47 A 98



B 49 A 32



B 50 B 42

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B 57 B 63 B 69

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B 52

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KINARA JATAKA



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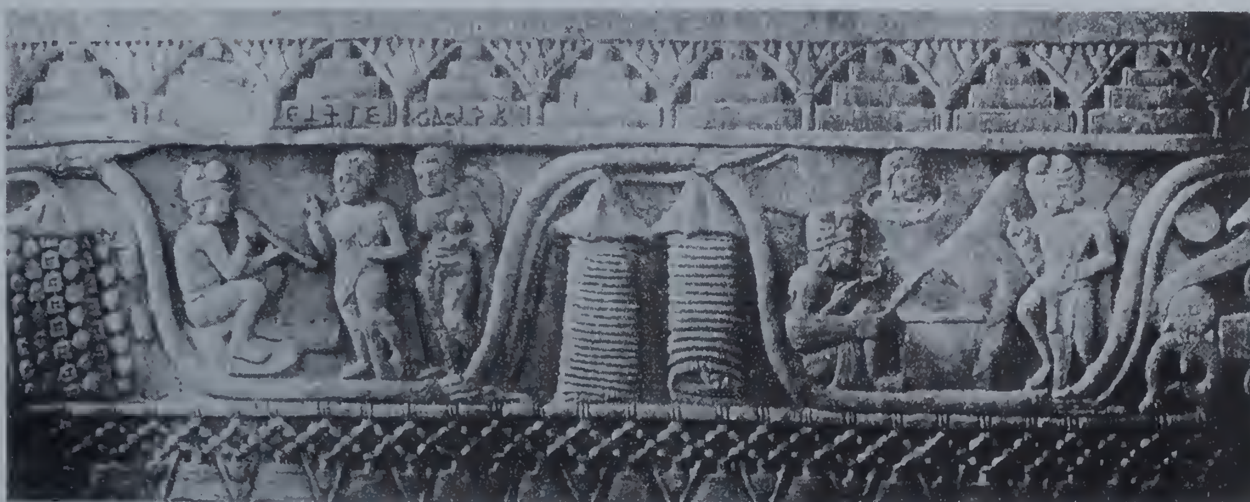
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B 66

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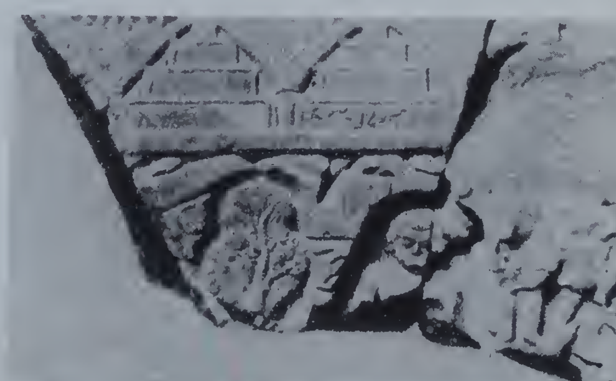
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B 70-72



A 12



B 77 B 64

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B 48 B 68



B 78



B 82



B 58 B 73 B 74

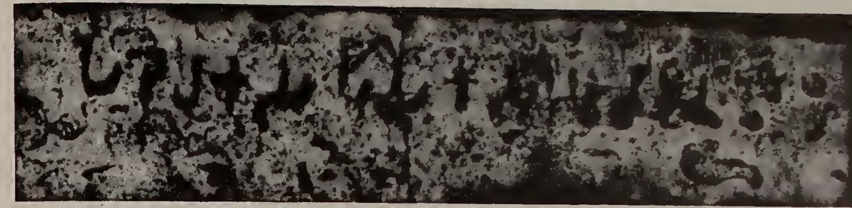
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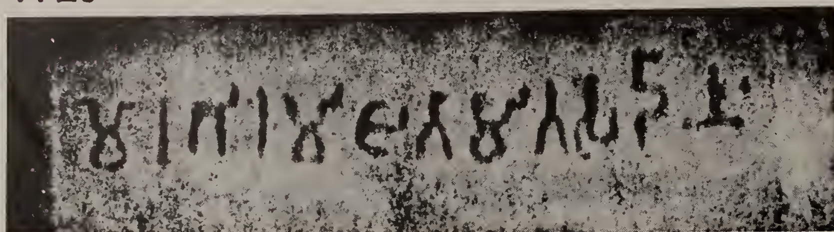
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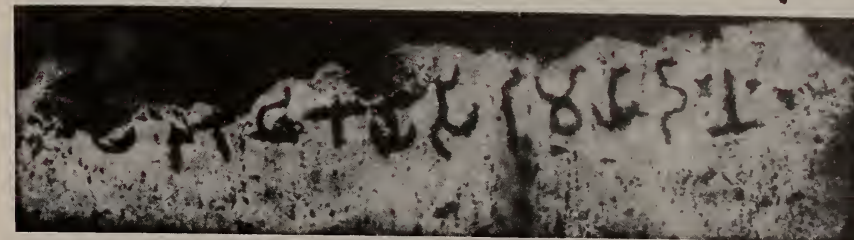
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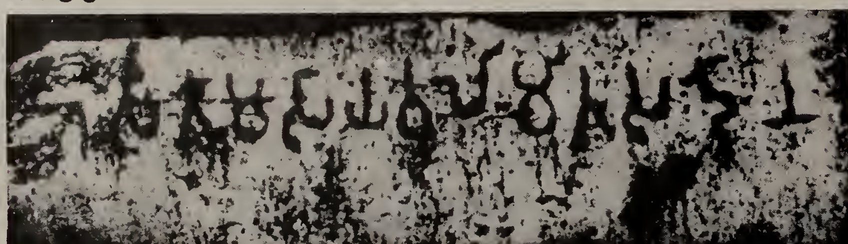
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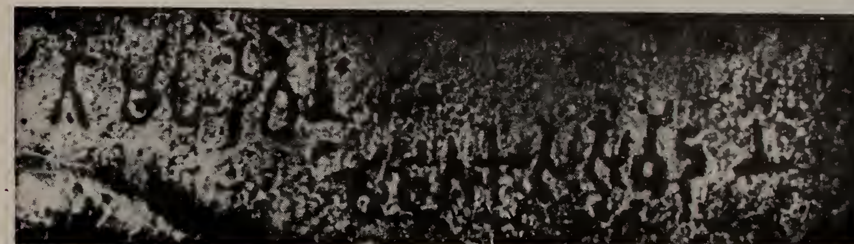
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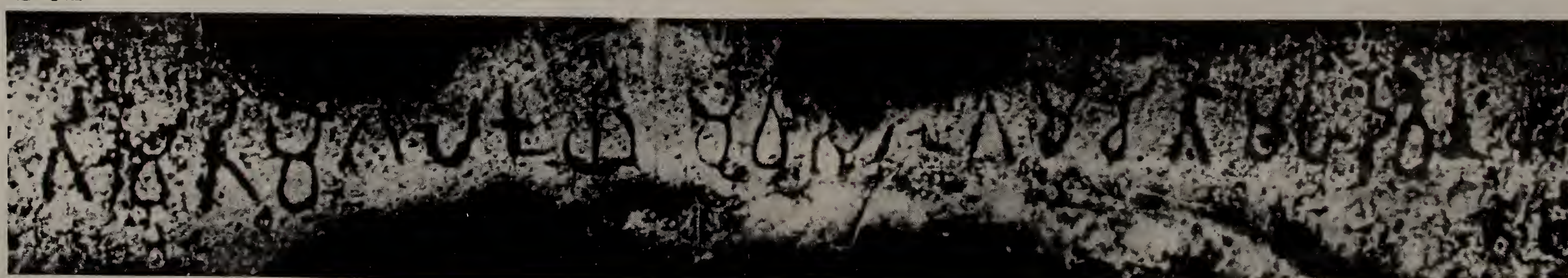
A 36



A 104



B 62



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